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Inspection Team Begins Check at Pershing-2 Base

LD2809143888 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Bonn September 28 TASS—A Soviet inspection team, which has arrived in the FRG, today started inspecting the American base of medium-range missiles Pershing-2 in the area of Heilbronn, Baden Wuerttemberg.

The check, which is envisaged under the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles, will take 24 hours to complete.

TRUD Criticizes Western Arms Programs

PM2809112588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 Sep 88 p 3

["Our Commentary" by Rudolf Puchkov: "One Step Forward and One Step Back?"]

[Text] A curious opinion was recently expressed by a NEW YORK TIMES correspondent. "Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders," he declared, "have repeatedly called for the convening of an 'all-European' conference to discuss the question of reducing conventional arms in Europe. This is only the latest proof that Moscow is serious about the problem of substantially easing East-West confrontation in a part of the world which is saturated with weapons. In response, the United States and NATO are doing almost nothing but dragging out the solution of this question."

There are, of course, politicians in the West who are making considerable efforts to promote detente. Recently, however, there have been increasingly frequent news reports of statements which, to a greater or lesser degree, question the need for building a common European home and for disarmament in general.

M. Thatcher traveled to Belgium, the site of NATO headquarters, last week. The British prime minister devoted one of her speeches to questions of "European defense." While speaking in favor of holding talks on arms control, at the same time she advocated continuing pursuit of the policy of "nuclear deterrence" and upgrading nuclear weapons. "There can be no talk of slackening efforts in the defense sphere, even though this might involve difficult decisions and major expenditures," M. Thatcher declared.

Nor is there any shortage of calls to arm from across the ocean. Neither Republican presidential candidate G. Bush nor the same party's candidate for vice president, D. Quayle, make any secret of the fact that they are fervent advocates of the earliest possible deployment of SDI. This is diligently emphasized in their election campaign speeches.

As for Democratic presidential candidate M. Dukakis, THE WASHINGTON POST writes that, when it comes to new weapons systems and arms control, he is getting closer to the long-held position of President R. Reagan and former President J. Carter. "Dukakis has said," the newspaper notes in particular, "that he supports the Reagan administration's plans regarding the development of the 'Trident-2' missile system, an exceptionally accurate long-range weapon to be based on submarines."

If only the news reports from the West were concerned solely with what various figures have said! No, they also cover activities—new dangerous schemes by the Pentagon and NATO. We are talking about the start of the development of new types of nuclear missiles with "penetrating" warheads in the United States, or the resumption of work by the U.S. Air Force on the creation of a special communications system in the event of a nuclear war, or the efforts by NATO's European members on the joint creation of upgraded weapons or on knocking together joint military formations like the French-West German brigade, and so on.

"The British and the French," the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL argues, "have hitherto been altogether unwilling to hold talks on their arsenals of nuclear weapons. The Americans are also against discussing the question of nuclear weapons at talks on conventional arms. They would be reluctant to block the upgrading of NATO's nuclear weapons in Europe and are already looking to acquire 1,000 new short-range missiles (with a minimum range of 250 km) for $1.2 billion."

So on the one hand they are in favor of detente, but on the other they are quietly continuing to spin the wheel of the arms race. This game, conducted by the Pentagon and NATO and at times involving responsible politicians in the West, is nothing new. The outcome is that as soon as the cause of detente and disarmament starts emerging from a state of deadlock as a result of colossal efforts, powerful forces emerge and attempt to put the brakes on this process. But if every step forward is immediately followed by a step backward, surely this is nothing more than marking time?

Warsaw Pact Parliament Heads Meet in Berlin

PM2209082388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "To Deepen Cooperation"]

[Text] Berlin, 17 Sep—In the GDR capital a 3-day meeting of the chairmen of Warsaw Pact parliaments ended 16 September. The following took part in it: S. Todorov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly; I. Stadinger, chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly; Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber; R. Malinowski, marshal of the Polish Sejm; N. Giosan, chairman of the Romanian Grand National Assembly; Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union; and J. Kempny, member of the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council.

The meeting's participants exchanged opinions on further developing and deepening the parliaments' cooperation in the name of ensuring peace, disarmament, detente, and cooperation. Their attention was focused on the contribution of the top-level people's representative bodies in implementing the socialist states' comprehensive peace programs adopted at the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference in July this year in Warsaw. At the meeting it was unanimously stressed that socialist states' proposals to continue the disarmament process in and beyond Europe received a broad response from parliamentarians, politicians, economic and cultural representatives, and among broad sections of the international public.

The experience of the interparliamentary work confirms the constructiveness and realism of the socialist states' idea directed at disarmament and detente and according with all peoples' vital interests.

The parliamentary chairmen briefed each other of the work of the people's representative bodies in the process to further develop socialist democracy in their countries. They expressed the common opinion that despite all the differences of political, economic, and cultural development in their countries, this exchange of experience is useful for everyone and gives a new impetus to the work of the people's representative bodies.

The meeting's participants discussed the possibilities for further developing and deepening interparliamentary cooperation. At the same time they also examined new forms of cooperation called upon to step up European dialogue between parliamentarians on questions of peace, disarmament and detente. With this aim the working group of deputies and experts are working out proposals to create a multilateral organ of the socialist parliaments and will present them to interested parliaments of socialist countries.

The parliament chairmen were received by W. Stoph, deputy chairman of the State Council, and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Pact Information Forum Meets in Bucharest

LD2109201088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] The latest sitting of the multilateral group on current mutual information consisting of representatives of Warsaw Pact member states has taken place in Bucharest. An exchange of views and information was conducted on several topical international isues of mutual interest relating, specifically, to security and cooperation in Europe, and also connected with problems of the 43d session of the UN General Assembly.

Anniversary of Fraternal Parties' Journal Marked

PM2809145188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by B. Ivanov: "International Rostrum; Journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA Is 30 Years Old"]

[Text] The journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA—the fraternal parties' joint theoretical and information publication—occupies a special place in the arsenal of the modern communist press. Its first issue was published 30 years ago and since then the journal has traveled a wide path, becoming a unique chronicle of the development of the international communist movement. The notable date is being celebrated at a new stage of this development, when the ideas of the renewal of political thinking and the theory and practice of revolutionary action are intensifying the potential of the struggle for peace and socialism.

The history of the birth of the communists' international journal goes back to the spring of 1958, when representatives of 12 fraternal parties gathered in Prague to discuss their wishes for the production of a collective publication of a new type which would be a theoretical forum and rostrum for the exchange of opinions, experience, and information. The inaugurating parties proceeded from the premise that the journal was designed to build its work on the basis of the prevailing norms for mutual relations between the communists of different countries—equality, cooperation, mutual respect, and noninterference in the internal affairs of individual parties. It was stipulated that every fraternal party who wanted to do so could join in participation in it in any form.

The 3 decades of continuous publication during which the journal has been published, its wide circulation, and its heightened authority and influence are evidence of the vitality of the principles laid down at its foundation. It is no longer 29, as was the case initially, but 69 parties which now take part in the production of PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA and a further 50 or so parties and revolutionary-democratic and national liberation organizations cooperate with it permanently. In the year it was founded the journal was published in 19 languages, now it is published in 41 languages and it is published in over 70 national publishing houses and distributed in 145 countries.

Having from the outset focused attention on the fraternal parties' development of the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin and on the theoretical consideration of the processes and phenomena of social life, PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA shows the role of theory as an instrument for understanding and transforming society, reveals the laboratory of communist thinking, and resolutely criticizes bourgeois theoretical concepts. In 3 decades the journal's field of research has encompassed the practice of revolutionary struggle in over 100 countries. This work is a graphic confirmation of Lenin's thesis that theory "grows from the amalgam of revolutionary experience and revolutionary thought of all countries of the world" (Complete Collected Works Vol 27, p 11).

PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA began publication in the atmosphere of the "cold war." Setting forth the political credo of the new publication in an article which opened the first issue, the editorial office stressed that there is no more important or urgent task than the curbing of the aggressive forces of imperialism which threaten mankind with nuclear war. Since then the world has frequently come close to the threshold of nuclear catastrophe and has experienced freezes and thaws in international relations; the problem of war and peace has acquired many new facets and paths for its political solution unknown in the past have opened up—and these upheavals have been reflected in the pages of PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA with numerous antiwar publications whose "geography" encompasses the entire planet. Today an analysis of the problems of peace and disarmament is being conducted in interconnection with the solution of other global problems; the items published reveal what is new in the content and forms of peaceful existence, the correlation between the universally human and the class-based, and the role of "popular diplomacy" and of various social forces in achieving a nuclear-free, nonviolent world.

The journal also gives extensive coverage to questions of the international communist and workers movement and the anti-imperialist and national liberation struggle and to the life of the fraternal parties. Here topical questions of socialist building and the renewal processes taking place in the socialist world occupy a special place. The journal could not cover such a complex and multifaceted package of themes without the most active participation of the fraternal parties and the large authors' aktiv. During the existence of PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA it has published many articles by general (first) secretaries and party chairmen. In each issue the reader also finds items by Marxist scholars and eminent political and public figures, including noncommunists.

Like any modern periodical publication, the journal uses various forms of work. But by virtue of its specific nature it is distinguished by the experience of the fraternal parties' collective analysis of topical problems of the present day and at the same time organizes international scientific and theoretical conferences, symposia, and seminars. So far about 200 such collective discussions have been held in Prague, where the editorial office is situated, and in various countries. These discussions have examined the most important problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, the struggle for a nuclear-free world and universal security, and international development and have discussed the communists' ideological-political and organizational experience.

The international communist movement, it was noted at the celebration of the 70th anniversary of Great October in Moscow, is at the crossroads, as is the world process itself and its motive forces. The communist parties are seeking answers to the problems generated by the profound changes on the threshold of the 21st century. The international movement of communists is being renewed, rallied on the basis of confidence, equality, and sincere solidarity. Today it acts as a worldwide movement of like-minded sovereign revolutionary parties. Proceeding from common ideals and end goals, they are struggling under various conditions and by various methods, determining independently their approaches toward the solution of new tasks at the national and international level.

The turn toward the new political thinking which has begun in recent years has also presented the journal with the demand for renewal and the surmounting of old stereotypes. The publication's political line at each stage of development is determined by conferences of the fraternal parties devoted to its work. The last meeting, the eighth, took place in April this year and was the most representative in the entire history of PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA: Authoritative delegations from 93 parties took part. They analyzed the collective publication's activity critically and comprehensively, put forward specific proposals aimed at the journal's updating in line with modern conditions and the increased requirements of ideological-theoretical work and with the need to expand the exchange of experience and information on questions of the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, independence, and social progress.

As is well known, the CPSU has expressed satisfaction at the results of the conference. As a result of the frank exchange of opinions in an atmosphere of glasnost and respect for each other's stance, the collective elaboration of a constructive approach toward the solution of important questions of restructuring the journal was successfully achieved. The thrust of this restructuring is that, while remaining a communist publication, PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA has effected a resolute shift toward cooperation with broad forces representing the entire workers' and entire democratic movement so that its pages have become the venue for creative debate and the emergence of new ideas. The implementation of the projected transformations is designed to breathe new life into the journal's activity, to strengthen its prestige among the democratic public, to help gain a mass audience, and thus to strengthen the positions of the international communist movement.

We cannot fail to note that the journal's recent issues bear clear signs of the pluralism of opinions, of comradely discussions, and of the search for answers to the complex problems of the present day. The place and role of the communists in the world today and various aspects of the fraternal parties' activity are examined from the positions of the new political thinking. Many items analyze the influence which restructuring in the USSR and the process of the improvement of socialism as a whole are exerting on the communist movement and all world development. The journal also seeks to develop other subject matter in a spirit of glasnost, openness, and impartiality, on the basis of a comparison of opinions. This applies primarily to the features and policy of imperialism, the class struggle in the capitalist countries, problems of the anti-imperialist and national liberation movements in the "Third World," and the potential of communists' alliances with other democratic forces.

The marked expansion of the range of authors is helping to make the journal's content deeper and to enhance its level of debate. Representatives of the social democrats, believers, pacifists, ecologists, and other social forces write in almost every issue of PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA nowadays. The journal is becoming the venue for dialogue, the rostrum for debate—and this is meeting with the fraternal parties' support and a positive response from readers.

The improvement of the journal's work is viewed by the CPSU, one of its founder parties, as a component of our approach toward the problems of the international communist movement. On the basis of the best traditions which have given a good account of themselves a further turn has to be implemented for the communists' collective publication toward new realities and the fraternal parties' modern ideological and theoretical needs and its contribution must be increased to the setting up of broader cooperation between all forces representing the workers and democratic movement for the benefit of the cause of peace, the cause of socialism.

Shevardnadze Leaves New York for CPSU Plenum

Gerasimov on Departure, Meetings

LD2809191288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1835 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] New York, 28 Sep (TASS)—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, reported at a briefing at the UN headquarters today that Eduard Shevardnadze, the USSR Foreign Minister, is cutting short his stay in New York to take part in the CPSU Central Committee plenum which opens on 30 September. This plenum, according to a decision of the 19th all-union party conference, will be devoted to a discussion on questions concerning structural changes in the work of the party apparatus at various levels. In connection with this a number of planned meetings between Eduard Shevardnadze and heads of the delegations of a number of countries at the 43d UN General Assembly session are being canceled.

Gennadiy Gerasimov reported that meetings were held today between Eduard Shevardnadze and the foreign ministers of the PRC and Canada. It is anticipated that a meeting will take place in the second half of the day between the foreign ministers of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, at which, Gerasimov said, the Soviet minister will raise the question of the continuing violations by the Pakistani side of the Geneva agreements on a settlement to the situation regarding Afghanistan. "We have not changed our plans for the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan," the Soviet spokesman said. "The USSR, according to the Geneva agreements, has completed the first stage of the troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. However, the second stage has still not begun. The question is now being raised as to how to act further when Pakistan is continuing to violate the Geneva agreements."

Also expected today, the Soviet spokesman reported, are a meeting between Eduard Shevardnadze and the Indonesian foreign minister, as well as a meeting with Michael Dukakis, the U.S. Democratic Party's presidential candidate.

Moscow Announces Departure

LD2909045388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] We have just received a cable from New York saying that Comrade Shevardnadze, head of the Soviet delegation at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and USSR Foreign Minister, has left New York for Moscow. As a Foreign Ministry spokesman announced, Comrade Shevardnadze's stay in New York at the UN session was cut short, because on Friday [30 September] a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is being held in Moscow at which questions of the organizational restructuring of the party apparatus will be examined.

Shevardnadze Meets UN Figures Before Leaving

Meets Genscher, Others

PM2809185788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meetings in New York"]

[Text] New York, 28 Sep—On Tuesday E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, continued his meetings here with political figures attending the 43d UN General Assembly session.

At the meeting with Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway a similar, and often even shared, understanding of the political imperatives of the present time—the priority of universal human values in international relations and the crucial importance of ecological security—emerged to the satisfaction of the interlocutors. Gro Harlem Brundtland is heading an authoritative international commission on the environment and development which is particularly interested in these questions. There is also a Soviet-Norwegian joint commission on cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection.

The prime minister reaffirmed Norway's positive stance in respect of M.S. Gorbachev's proposal to convene an all-European summit with the participation of the United States and Canada after the talks on the reduction of conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals have begun, and to set up a European center to avert the danger of war.

The USSR minister of foreign affairs welcomed this statement.

At the same time, during the further discussion of our proposals to strengthen security in the north of Europe, his partner in the talks confined herself to references to the need to maintain close contacts with her NATO allies.

Both sides expressed themselves in favor of redoubled efforts to develop Soviet-Norwegian relations and to continue the quest for mutually acceptable solutions to the problems which persist in these relations, including the issue of the demarcation of the sea expanses in the Barents Sea.

On the same day an exchange of views was held with Prime Minister D. Lange of New Zealand.

During discussion of the situation which is developing in the Asia-Pacific region the importance was noted of a joint quest for ways to strengthen security and establish peaceful cooperation in this part of the world. In this context E.A. Shevardnadze drew the attention of his interlocutor to the new Soviet initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Our countries are a long way apart and in the past there have been complications in our relations. Of late relations have been reanimated, and the interlocutors emphasized both sides' interest in strengthening these relations. There is a possibility of agreements on cultural and sports exchanges, and we are prepared to expand trade, whose balance at present is not in our favor, and to develop economic cooperation.

There was also a thorough discussion with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the FRG foreign minister, which lasted 3 hours. Preparations for the upcoming visit of the FRG chancellor to the Soviet Union and the present state of East-West relations were discussed.

The ministers confirmed that the visit of FRG Chancellor H. Kohl to the Soviet Union in October 1988 and the visit of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the FRG in the first half of 1989 will be outstanding events in bilateral relations.

The ministers noted with satisfaction that progress had been achieved in preparations for the conclusion of a number of agreements. They expressed the hope that the solutions to practical problems which have been found by experts in respect of the involvement of West Berlin in cooperation in the field of environmental protection and the 2-year program for cultural cooperation will make it possible to sign these agreements in the course of the federal chancellor's visit. They discussed questions of cooperation in the sphere of shipping, space research, and economic contacts within the framework of the utilization of West German credit, and so forth.

The ministers were unanimous on the question that the Vienna CSCE meeting must be concluded as soon as possible with the adoption of a well-considered and substantial final document and that preconditions must be created for the opening of talks on conventional arms in Europe within the current year. The ministers noted with satisfaction that the prospects for reaching mutual understanding in principle on a mandate for the talks on conventional arms and humanitarian issues had improved.

The ministers expressed themselves in favor of an early conclusion of the talks on a universal and verifiable ban on chemical weapons, which have progressed a long way. Both sides will play an active part in enhancing the effectiveness of all measures capable of actively countering the spread and utilization of chemical weapons prior to the conclusion of an agreement.

The interlocutors highly appraised the effectiveness of the UN secretary general's efforts in the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts and emphasized the growing importance of this international organization.

A meeting was also held with T. Kuriyama, Japanese deputy foreign minister, who is heading the Japanese delegation at the UN General Assembly session. A number of questions pertaining to bilateral relations were discussed, and agreement that the USSR foreign minister will visit Japan 19-21 December this year was reaffirmed.

Genscher Talks: Arms 'Breakthrough'

LD2809190688 Hamburg DPA in German 1711 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] New York (DPA)—The over 3 hour-long meeting between the Federal Republic's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly in New York has made progress in the Berlin Clause and a spectacular breakthrough in conventional disarmament. Diplomatic sources in the FRG delegation announced today that the two politicians had pushed the most difficult stumbling block for negotiations on conventional stablity to one side.

In Bonn the Free Democrats assessed the results of the talk as a "breakthrough for Berlin." Now that years of negotiations had finally found a happy ending, the way will be clear for a successful visit by the federal chancellor to Moscow. Horst Ehmke, deputy chairman of the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] parliamentary group, was skeptical in contrast, and spoke of fine-sounding declarations of intentions. Doubts will remain until they have been refuted by facts.

The agreement, which was not in sight in Shevardnadze's preceding talks in Washington, and which also surprised the Americans, concerns the definition of weapons systems of dual application. Here, for example, certain types of artillery are meant, which can fire nuclear and conventional shells. On Tuesday Shevardnadze accepted an earlier Western formula, according to which in Vienna:

1. Negotiations will be only on conventional armaments;

2. Dual systems can (repeat can) be included in the negotiations; and

3. The question as to which these systems are will not be clarified until the negotiations themselves.

At the beginning of the talks Shevardnadze had been supporting the previous Soviet negative position.

The significance lies in the assessment of fighter aircraft. According to the West, these are conventional weapons and have to be an object of negotiations in Vienna. The

Soviets wanted to keep them out of these negotiations as supposed dual-purpose weapons, and therefore avoid a reduction in the number of these aircraft.

The result of the talks means the removal of a stumbling block, which Genscher was still describing during his visit to Moscow in July as "the question of questions." Problems, described by diplomatic sources as surmountable, still remain unresolved.

Genscher gained a second success yesterday with the solution of the problem of how to apply the Berlin Clause to the agreements, which will be signed during the federal chancellor's visit to Moscow at the end of October. It is a matter of a formula, which is described by the Foreign Ministry as a "practical inclusion of Berlin (West) in cooperation in the field of environmental protection and a 2-year program as part of the cultural agreement." It refers to people who live in West Berlin and to whom the agreement will apply, for instance artists and scientists.

The basis for the new ruling is the so-called Frank-Falin Clause, in which these former diplomats from Bonn and Moscow refer to the Four-Power Agreement and its commitments to the Federal Republic, which are interpreted differently by the two sides. This form of application of the Berlin Clause is not completely new, but diplomats from the Foreign Ministry stress as great progress the fact that an agreement has been reached in principle and that in the future things will be dealt with in this way. Many prolonged negotiations will be avoided by this.

Today Genscher also met the foreign ministers of Romania, Cuba and Mongolia.

Meets Pakistani, Other Ministers

LD2909114188 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 29 TASS—On the day of his departure from New York for Moscow, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, continued to have meetings with foreign political figures here on the occasion of the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly. He met with the foreign ministers of Indonesia, Finland, Canada, Pakistan, and Iran.

The interlocutors pointed out that the international situation had improved in many respects due to better Soviet-American relations, that the U.N. prestige had grown, and spoke out in favour of increased joint efforts of the international community to consolidate the positive changes in the world.

During a meeting with Ali Alatas, Indonesian minister of foreign affairs, the Soviet side gave a high appraisal of the country's place in world politics. Ali Alatas emphasised the Soviet Union's decisive role at the beginning of a new era in world affairs, regarding this as a result of the new political thinking.

The sides declared for further development of relations which already now rest on a solid foundation.

Having discussed the situation related to Kampuchea, the two ministers agreed on the need to ensure a comprehensive character of the settlement process so that an intra-Khmer dialogue would be conducted simultaneously with the stage-by-stage withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, international guarantees would be worked out, and the process of a political solution to the Kampuchean problem, which began at the meeting in Bogor, would receive further development.

During a meeting with Kalevi Sorsa, Finnish minister of foreign affairs, much attention was devoted to bilateral relations which can be regarded as exemplary, considering that they develop between states with different socio-political systems. But these relations, too require unceasing care for their development and expansion. The two ministers discussed prospects for economic relations between the Soviet Union and Finland in the conditions of the restructuring process taking place in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet side expressed an opinion on a favourable stabilising influence of neutral states on the situation in Europe as long as it is divided into blocs. Such influence was felt at the Stockholm conference and is helping the work of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting. The Finnish side stated that the policy of neutrality was the basic one to Finland.

The two ministers also discussed the two countries' activities at U.N.

Some matters concerning Soviet-Canadian relations were discussed during a meeting with Joseph Clark, Canadian minister of foreign affairs. Mutual readiness to overcome the consequences of the period of certain complications in the two countries' relationships and to bring them back into the normal channel of active political dialogue and mutually beneficial cooperation was expressed. With this end in view a fundamental understanding was reached to the effect that, as regards their diplomatic mission, the sides are returning to the situation which existed prior to the period of complications.

Eduard Shevardnadze also received Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, Pakistani minister of foreign affairs.

Main attention during the meeting was given to the discussion of the course of fulfilment by the sides of their obligations under the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

The Soviet side stated that the documents signed in Geneva would lose their meaning should the situation, when one of the sides meets its commitments while the other side overtly ignores and violates them, keep on. The main thing now is to implement what was agreed upon in Geneva.

The question of the fate of Soviet servicemen who found themselves captured by the Afghan opposition was discussed. The Pakistani minister expressed readiness for good offices in solving the issue.

The two sides declared for the development in prospect of bilateral contacts and cooperation in various fields. However, as was emphasised by the Soviet side, this would be done provided an overall positive atmosphere in Soviet- Pakistani relations is created.

A conversation was held with A.A. Velayati, minister of foreign affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran. During the meeting special attention was given to a political settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict on the strength of implementation of the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 598. The Soviet side was gratified to state that the cessation of hostilities between Iran and Iraq and the start of direct talks created favourable prerequisites for the restoration of peace in the area of the Middle East.

Setting out the Iranian position on matters concerning ceasefire with Iraq, 'Ali Akbar Velayati went on record for a continuation and intensification of the political dialogue started in Geneva.

During the discussion of matters connected with Afghanistan, Eduard Shevardnadze said Iran, too, could make its contribution to normalising the situation concerning Afghanistan.

The sides expressed mutual striving for the development of goodneighbourly relations. Velayati confirmed an invitation of Eduard Shevardnadze to visit Tehran.

Further on Reactions to Shevardnadze UN Speech

Welcomed by U.S., Britain

LD2909091988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 28 Sep 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Excerpts] The annual UN General Assembly session is always seen as a sort of new stage in the development of international relations. [passage omitted] Everyone's attention was focused on the speeches by Ronald Reagan and Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz even came into the plenary sessions hall especially for the speech by the Soviet foreign minister. [video shows still shot of Shultz]

We all remember the times when similar speeches of ours were immediately brushed aside by U.S. statesmen and everything was done to diminish their significance and to implant distrust of any Soviet proposals. Today the picture looks entirely different. Replying to questions from pressmen, Shultz, while noting that he was not in agreement with every word of Comrade Shevardnadze's speech—which is natural—nevertheless viewed it as the most constructive ever.

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said that the Soviet Union had made an important and interesting speech at the United Nations which deserves the most scrupulous attention and study. Many people are linking the realism and dynamism of the present Soviet foreign policy course with the revolutionary changes taking place in our country. Incidentally, in a recent interview with THE NEW YORK TIMES, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said that she had reflected several times as to whether the success of the transformations taking place in the Soviet Union is in the interests of the West, and had come to the conclusion that it was. This is what she said: We will support that process with all the means at our disposal, by means of expanding contacts between East and West, by promoting joint projects between Soviet and British enterprises.

I would like to draw your attention to another aspect: Vernon Walters, the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, while welcoming the speech by the Soviet foreign minister noted a new element, as he put it, in Soviet policy. He had in mind the problem of protecting the environment, of ecological balance. Walters said that the United States is ready to act jointly with the USSR in the area of nature protection.

Perez de Cuellar, Walters React

LD2809195688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Presented by Yevgeniy Grachev]

[Text] [Grachev] And now listen to reportage from our correspondent Vladimir Gerasichev in New York:

[Gerasichev] The speech by Comrade Shevardnadze, the head of the Soviet delegation at the 43d session of the United Nations General Assembly, is being widely discussed and commented on here today. This was a very important and substantial speech, UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar told journalists. I am particularly pleased, he emphasized, that in the speech by the head of the Soviet delegation full support is expressed for the work of the United Nations, and that the Soviet Union is striving to use the existing mechanism of the United Nations in its approaches to solving complicated international problems.

And this is what Vernon Walters, the United States permanent representative to the United Nations, said about Comrade Shevardnadze's speech: I believe, Walters says, that this was a constructive speech. We agree with many things that were said in this speech, although there are others with which we do not agree. But, on the whole, I repeat, this was a constructive speech, delivered in a pleasant spirit. I would also like to stress, Vernon Walters says, how the tone of the speeches by Soviet and U.S. leaders at the United Nations has noticably changed for the better. We must work more effectively together in order to strengthen peace and international security, the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, says in conclusion.

The U.S. press today draws attention to the appeal of the head of the Soviet delegation at the General Assembly session to enhance the role of the United Nations in strengthening peace on our planet and points to the whole number of specific proposals aimed at achieving this goal. THE NEW YORK TIMES singles out the proposal to create a World Space Organization and the use of the Soviet Krasnoyarsk radar station and two U.S. radar stations for the peaceful study of outer space.

Today's press and television points out the Soviet Union's proposal to discuss the question of the fulfilment of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan at a meeting of the permanent members of the Security Council. Attention is drawn to the whole package of Soviet initiatives aimed at limiting and proliferation of military missile technology and establishing control over the use of scientific-technical achievements for military purposes and curbing the arms race.

Security Council Ministers Meet Perez de Cuellar

LD2909091588 Moscow TASS in English 0858 GMT 29 Sep 88

["Statement on Foreign Ministers' Meeting at UN"—TASS headline]

[Text] New York September 29 TASS—On September 28, 1988, the ministers of foreign affairs of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council had a meeting with secretary-general of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Taking part in the meeting were Qian Qichen, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of China, Roland Dumas, the state minister, minister of foreign affairs of France, Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Geoffrey Howe, secretary of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and George Shultz, secretary of state of the United States of America.

The ministers and the secretary-general exchanged views on a wide range of major international issues. They placed particular emphasis on efforts to resolve current regional conflicts in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. They noted with satisfaction the marked improvement in international relations at the global level and the general trend toward dialogue and peaceful settlement of disputes which had developed since their previous meeting with secretary-general on September 25, 1987. They welcomed the active involvement of the United Nations in this process. They also stressed their continuing confidence in the United Nations, which they believed had an increasingly significant role to play in the achievement of international peace and security. The ministers expressed their determination to continue to work together to enhance these positive developments.

The ministers welcomed the ceasefire between Iran and Iraq, which came into effect on August 20, 1988. They also welcomed the start of direct talks between the parties under the auspices of the U.N. secretary-general in order to secure full implementation of Security Council Resolution 598.

The ministers reiterated their complete support for the secretary-general's endeavours and their determination to work with him to ensure that the resolution be fully implemented as an integral whole. They also expressed the conviction that the two parties now had before them the opportunity to reach a comprehensive, just, honourable and durable peace. They emphasised the need for substantive and continuous talks, and in this respect they welcomed the decision to continue the talks on October 1. They called on both sides to display restraint, flexibility and readiness to search for mutually acceptable solutions.

The ministers thanked the secretary-general for his invitation to the meeting which they considered most useful.

In view of the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the U.N. Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, they expressed their determination to continue to work together for the prevention and settlement of international conflicts.

In addition to the statement, a spokesman for the U.N. secretary-general was authorised to state that, when touching upon the situation in Lebanon, the ministers had reaffirmed their firm commitment to sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of that country.

World Political Science Congress Viewed

PM2809091388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Sep 88 Second Edition p 6

[Article by corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G. Shakhnazarov, president of the Soviet Association of Political Sciences: "Science on Politics. Notes From the 14th World Congress in Washington"]

[Excerpts] Washington's Sheraton Hotel is not only a cozy haven for visitors to the U.S. capital but also a sample of contemporary architecture that is able to organically combine aesthetics with rationalism and living and recreation space with functional rooms for business meetings. During the last few days in August this huge multistory building was the scene of debates involving political scientists, who had gathered from many countries for their 14th world congress. [passage omitted]

Whereas in our country the epithet "bourgeois" affixed to the word science meant that it wasn't science at all but rather sheer magic or even charlatanism, the "other side" gave the same meaning to the concept of Marxism. During the years of the "cold war" and the dominance of blind anticommunism, a critical attitude to particular political actions by the Soviet Union and other socialist states was automatically extended to Marxist-Leninist theory. Inculcated for decades in the spirit not of ideological but "theoretical intolerance," many Western political scientists had no notion of its true substance and this imparted a restricted and one-sided character to their research.

Thus, both sides lost out, but the biggest loser was science, which is in essence unified and indivisible and exists objectively for the sake of acertaining the truth. Admittedly, even if intolerance that has been fostered over the decades is discarded, doubt still remains: Is it possible to have a unified science dealing with a subject which is at the epicenter of the class struggle? The answer will be negative if you adhere to sectarian positions and absolutely positive if you recall that the aim of socialism is to benefit all society and not any one class and that the interests of general human development are above any class interests. Having fully rehabilitated this fundamental tenet of Marxism-Leninism, the new political thinking has opened up the way to overcome the "great divisions" in science.

Of course, this by no means involves abandoning the originality of the two basic trends of social scientific thought—Marxist and non-Marxist—not to mention various schools and tendencies existing within both or in "no-man's-land." The struggle of ideas and the clash of concepts are a natural part of science, without which it would be doomed to sterility. But this should constitute scientific polemics rather than a mortal encounter of combatant sides waged in order to destroy one another. Just as no one now talks about the existence of capitalist and socialist, Western and Eastern physics or geography (yet this has happened!), the time has come to acknowledge the existence of political science as a unified science.

It is not only common sense that dictates this but also real social necessity. And social necessity is a great and insuperable force, which overthrows any prejudices in its way once it has arisen. This is what has happened in one of the two main areas of political science—the study of international relations. For all the realities of the day—the shaping of an interdependent world, the nuclear threat, and the worsening of ecological and other global problems—imperatively urge countries and peoples to cooperate with a view to preserving and developing human civilization. The emergent positive processes in world politics are logically accompanied by a quest for common theoretical approaches to the tasks of disarmament, ensuring security, settling conflicts, building a new political and economic order, and so on.

Returning to the Washington congress, let us say that these problems occupied an appreciable place in its work and a substantially new trait appeared here: Specialists' desire not to confine themselves to exchanging opinions with each specialist defending his own opinion but to elaborate a common approach to topical issues of international politics. In the course of the congress' work an accord was reached on forming international collectives to prepare scientific reports and recommendations to governments and international organizations.

If we are talking about the substantive aspect of the matter, then perhaps the new political thinking and the possibilities of practically applying the fundamental idea of an integral interdependent world to solving the problems facing mankind at the end of the 20th century were at the center of all the debates on international issues. Nonetheless there were still manifestations of the mechanistic approach and attempts to put excessive stress on one or the other of the main elements forming the new thinking and to counterpose the task of ensuring the security and stability of the international system to the need to renew and remodel it.

We expounded our conception, stressing that the organic combination of the contradictory elements of contemporary development is precisely a feature of the new thinking. The priority of general human interests by no means signifies forgetting or even disregarding national and social needs, which ultimately shape the world community's joint interest. The new thinking is not elitist but profoundly democratic and gives no states, nations, social strata, or political trends any advantage to the detriment of others and indicates the only means by which mankind can avoid the danger of self-annihilation and simultaneously ensure the progress of the civilization it has created. Peace—freedom—solidarity—development—these are the symbols which schematically express the essence of the new political thinking.

I must say particularly that the globalization of political science is gradually spreading beyond the bounds of the international problems on which there was hitherto some collaboration, although by no means as intensive as now. Perhaps one of the most vivid examples of this is the discussion of human rights questions at the congress. Unlike the past, when this topic became a subject for propagandist skirmishes, specialists conducted a mutually beneficial comparative analysis of socialist and general democratic concepts of citizens' rights and the state of affairs with regard to these rights in various countries. The idea of elaborating an international code on human rights and citizens' rights was also voiced and met with support.

The sphere of the study of political systems was not left out of the new trends. Notwithstanding the difference in initial ideas, the main "matter" of science and its methodological arsenal are a common asset for scientists engaged in studying the political process. The electoral system, the correlation between legislative and executive organs of power and between representative organs and the state apparatus, political leadership, monitoring of observance of the constitution, methods of cadre selection and placement, the struggle against tendencies toward bureaucratism, local favoritism, and departmentalism, and the judicial and legal system—all these and many other aspects of the political process in the distinctive forms it has assumed in states with different social systems were the subject of joint analysis in the lecture halls at the Washington congress.

The Marxist concept of statehood proceeds on the premise that socialism must inherit all the best democratic institutions and traditions created by mankind in his age-old history and resulting from the popular masses' struggle for their economic interests and political rights. However, in the past our country claimed that following the rise of socialism any progress in Western democratic institutions would be impossible, the resources of democracy were exhausted there, and the working class could only retain remnants of democratic freedoms in a desperate struggle against the attack of monopolist reaction. That kind of approach was an utter oversimplication of the situation and was in effect antihistoric. Today we see that the political system in capitalist countries is assuming many new characteristics under the influence of considerable changes in the economy and the social structure of society. While the bourgeoisie retains the main levers for political supremacy, the working class and the progressive camp have by and large succeeded in defending and in some places even deepening the democratic substance of traditional political institutions.

It is now quite understandable, at a time when our country's political system is undergoing profound reform, that the experience in this sphere not only of socialist but also of other countries and the possibility of using this potential creatively deserve our attention and study. From this viewpoint the Washington congress, in which a representative delegation of Soviet scientists took part produced a great deal that is of interest. An agreement was concluded between Soviet and U.S. political scientists on conducting a joint comparative study of certain aspects of the functioning of the USSR and U.S. political systems.

It must be said that our foreign colleagues displayed great interest in the process of democratization of Soviet society and in our restructuring on the whole. The "roundtable" on these questions, which became in effect a press conference given by Soviet specialists, was one of the most crowded events of the congress. The Soviet specialists were bombarded with questions concerning the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the upcoming changes in the Soviet political and legal system. A positive attitude toward the projected measures prevailed during the ensuing discussion, although attention was also drawn to the great difficulties that will have to be overcome during the process of reforms. In effect it was a question of the problems that are now being discussed frankly in our press.

It is worth mentioning that certain Western political scientists have acknowledged that the political systems in their countries also need profound reforms. We need restructuring too, one of them stated to approving applause from the meeting.

I would like to close these fleeting impressions of the political scientists' congress with a practical consideration. Both internal necessities linked with the reform of the political system and the democratization of our society and external necessities insistently require political research to be raised to a new level in our country. A great deal has been done in this respect in recent years: Branches of the Soviet Association of Political Sciences have been formed in a number of republics; the association has created a Political Studies Center in conjunction with the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute; several monographs have been published, including the first political theory textbooks; yearbooks are being published and symposiums being held; our scientists are taking part in many political science forums on a bilateral and a multilateral basis; and so on.

But major tasks without which political science cannot constitute an independent sector of science equal to the demands made on it are still unresolved. I mean questions which have been frequently raised in our press: the introduction of teaching of political theory or the basics in higher education establishments' social science faculties, the publication of a political science journal, and the conferment of the degrees of candidate and doctor of political sciences, which would make it possible to train scientific cadres more purposefully. In the future, when the time is ripe, the question of establishing an institute of political theory will also arise.

I think that these proposals lie fully within the mainstream of the processes under way in the country and accord with the tasks of acquiring more profound knowledge, transforming Soviet society, and increasing our contribution to world politics.

Political science is not necessary and is even dangerous for authoritarian regimes. Whereas under conditions of democracy it becomes an essential element in political culture, a condition of society's intensive political life.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze Visit Not 'Mere Protocol'

PM2809102988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Vikentiy Matveyev rubric "Political Observer's Opinion": "An Inevitable Pause?"]

[Text] In the months leading up to presidential elections, Americans nationwide become particularly preoccupied with their country's domestic affairs and problems.

The established view in the United States and abroad is that something of a lull, a pause, prevails in U.S. diplomacy at this time. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that recently even the most influential press organs in the United States have been calling the presidential campaign an "objective circumstance" that is bound to bring the process of Soviet-U.S. talks on the whole complex of arms control issues to a halt. Accordingly, the latest meeting between E.A. Shevardnadze and G. Shultz has been portrayed by the mass media across the ocean as, to a considerable extent, a matter of protocol, holding no promise of progress at the Geneva and other talks between our two countries.

It therefore came as something of a surprise to observers and commentators not only in the United States but in other countries as well when they heard that the Soviet foreign minister had taken with him to Washington new Soviet proposals designed to give an extra boost to the talks in progress between our country and the United States.

This "surprise"—if that is the word to use—was not, of course, unpleasant for those who would like to see further progress along the path of curbing the arms race.

Progress in this key area should not be impeded by the current election campaign in the United States, if only because both candidates for the presidency are unhesitatingly in favor of continuing a businesslike dialogue with the Soviet Union on a broad range of political problems, including disarmament.

During the Soviet-U.S. exchange of opinions in Washington, it was reasonably pointed out that the Soviet Union and the United States have now reached a point from which they can move forward with greater confidence in many directions.

The question now is whether the current domestic situation in the United States will dictate that the two sides will, of necessity, have to halt at this point and await the outcome of the elections. One feels that if our side were thinking along these lines, it would hardly have put a series of new proposals to Washington.

It should be noted that this has been given due appraisal by U.S. officials. And some journalists covering the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Washington even asked questions at the news conference on the possibility of another meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan in the time left before the new U.S. president takes office.

It is clear that E.A. Shevardnadze's visit to Washington was by no means mere protocol. The meeting continued the active exchange of opinions on a broad range of problems in which the two sides have an interest.

It is true that the results of this exchange could have been more tangible, although progress was made on some issues: nuclear testing and the Vienna meeting, in particular. This means that even under the conditions of U.S. election fever it is possible to conduct an active, businesslike foreign policy dialogue between our two countries and prepare the ground for new accords in our mutual interests and the interests of the entire world community.

Reagan Silent on Palestinian Problem at UN

LD2809104988 Moscow TASS in English 1035 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 28 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Matish reports:

It is significant that during the farewell address at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly U.S. President Ronald Reagan passed over in silence the key Middle-East problem, thereby annoying many delegations of Arab countries.

"What kind of progress can one speak of if President Reagan in his U.N. address did not even mention the question of Palestinians' rights", said Tahir al-Masri, Jordanian minister of foreign affairs.

President Reagan held a session with NATO foreign ministers.

But the main attention, perhaps, was attracted by the U.S. President's meeting with the foreign ministers of Israel and Egypt. The meeting was specially timed for the tenth anniversary of the signing of the separate Camp David agreements. Following the meeting Reagan spoke rather highly of the deal which is known to have brought about a deep split in the ranks of the Arabs. The U.S. President described the deal as a monumental achievement that had changed the aspect of the region and had laid groundwork for all future peace efforts.

At the same time the U.S. President admitted that his administration over the period of almost eight years of its stay in office did not succeed to make progress in bringing about a Mid-East peace settlement. When asked whether the U.S. inability to achieve progress towards peace in the region was his personal major disappointment, he said that, to his mind, everyone would like greater progress than was achieved but that he did not consider that an utter failure.

It remains to be added that Richard Murphy, U.S. assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, had to admit that no new initiatives were put forward during the meeting.

Yakovlev, Wick Comment on Information Talks

LD2809193988 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 28 TASS—A member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee expressed confidence today that the Soviet-U.S. information talks were not only destructive toward mutual unworthy legacy but also constructive since they were aimed at building an edifice of cooperation and trust.

Aleksandr Yakovlev was speaking at the final plenary meeting of the three-day talks held in Moscow to discuss bilateral cooperation in the press, culture, arts, radio, television, book publishing and the cinema.

The plenary meeting was attended by nearly 150 Soviet and U.S. representatives.

Yakovlev noted progress in Soviet-U.S. relations and said that there were two axioms for the Soviet side.

First, it wanted normal relations with the United States, and second, the two societies could not renounce their nature, values and notions as a pay for such relations.

A mere three years ago any Soviet-American meeting would inevitably degenerate into a bandying of charges and the stressing of differences between our countries. Out of today's statements by Soviet and American participants in the US-USSR information talks at the final plenary meeting and at the press conference, one could conclude that during the meetings in sections in the fields of the press, radio and television, culture, there arose a new tendency as the 150 Soviet and American participants sought common ground and a better understanding of each other.

Although the American and Soviet sides differed in their approach to the work of mass media, we made headway on the question of cooperation in this field, said Charles Wick, director of the United States Information Agency (USIA) who heads the U.S. delegation. The US-USSR information talks proceeded in a favourable atmosphere and led to a number of specific and useful agreements. Charles Wick expressed the hope that the time would come when the Soviet-American dialogue would spill over into such interstate relations that would make it possible to eliminate missiles and nuclear weapons and to secure peace on earth.

In summing up the results of the talks, Valentin Falin, head of the Soviet delegation and chairman of the board of the NOVOSTI press agency, said that "the meeting was marked by a faster progress than could be expected." He emphasized the "get-down-to-brass-tacks" nature of the meeting, saying, among other things, that the question of setting up a permanent bureau of the Voice of America radio station in Moscow was settled today. "Its correspondent can start working even today," Valentin Falin said.

The section on exchanges in the field of the press reached a consensus on that a broader flow of information about the USSR and the USA would stimulate reciprocal visits and the sales of newspapers and magazines in the respective territories of each other. This hinges on a better mutual understanding and broader cooperation between our countries, thinks Donald Kummerfeld, co-chairman of that section, who is president of the American Magazine Publishers' Association. The Moscow talks produced not only a useful exchange of information but also an important conclusion that it is not the circumstances of a political nature but rather the economic and bureaucratic complexities that hindered a broader exchange of information.

Raymond Nasher, president of "Nasher Company", spoke of the broadest possible plans in the field of cultural exchanges, including the holding of festivals, exhibitions and exchanges between museums. Raymond Nasher stressed a major role which could be played by direct contacts between different regions of the USSR and the USA. Thus, for instance, Americans could familiarize themselves with the Volga region, while the Soviet people—with the Mississippi region.

"The chief result of the talks is learning the truth about each other," said Armen Medvedev, first deputy chairman of the Goskino (the State Cimema Committee) of the USSR. It eventually proved possible to achieve progress on film exchanges: Two protocols were signed on setting up cinema missions of each other in the USSR and the USA, and on combatting the cinema and video piracy. The importance of these agreements as well as the usefulness of the talks held was stressed by Jack Valenti, president of the "Motion Pictures Association of America".

Willian Reed, co-chairman of the radio and television section, said that the Moscow talks would add a new dimension to the Soviet-American exchanges in this field. A subject area for joint work was elaborated for the coming one and a half years for the Soviet television and the American "Worldnet" information network, and an agreement has been reached between the Soviet State Television and Radio Committee and the PBS television company to exchange teaching and "mind-expanding" programs.

Mikhail Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Printing, Publishing and Book Sales, and Charles Wick today signed protocol on cooperation in the field of book publishing.

Wick on Correspondent in Moscow

LD2909041888 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Excerpt] The Voice of America now has its own correspondent in Moscow. Mr Andre de Nesnera, the chief correspondent of the VOA's Geneva bureau, has been transferred to Moscow. He has already received new identification papers. The decision was made at a meeting of Soviet and American mass media officials, which ended in Moscow Wednesday. Radio Moscow's reporter Sergey Goryachov has details:

[Goryachov] The Soviet Union has for years had a cautious attitude to the VOA and its broadcasts, mostly described as anti-Soviet propaganda. The VOA broadcasts in languages spoken in various Soviet republics. The VOA's World Service broadcasts in English for listeners outside the United States. The fact that a VOA correspondent has received accreditation in Moscow shows the degree to what Soviet society has changed. This is what the director of the United States' Information Agency Charles Wick has told a Radio Moscow correspondent:

[Begin recording] [Wick] Well, we feel that that underlines eloquently Mr Gorbachev's bold initiative towards an open society for both countries, and we're very happy about it.

[Unidentified reporter] But you will not broadcast for the U.S. public. What will the U.S. Government get out of it?

[Wick] Well, the U.S. Government will get the same thing that Moscow Radio gets when it broadcasts around the world. It is part of the credibility that we have in reporting about the Soviets, what's happening here, what's happening elsewhere, and we feel that in this modern age of telecommunications the more that the public can have in the way of free information, the more peace will be guaranteed by virtue of the public being able to make up their own minds to what is true and what are the facts, so this is what is good for people in this new information age. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Retirement of SDI Director Viewed

LD2909041188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 28 Sep 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Igor Charikov]

[Text] [Charikov] A UP telegram from Washington describes the intention of Lieutenant General Abrahamson, director of the Strategic Defense Initiative organization, to retire. Announcing this decision on the part of the general, a Pentagon spokesman stated that it was caused, and I quote, by the differing approach of the future new administration to the Star Wars program. You will agree, comrades, that the wording is rather strange, since two perfectly legitimate questions spring to mind: What administration is being referred to, and in what way is its attitude toward SDI so different from that of the present U.S. Government? I will ask my colleague Andrey Ptashnikov to comment on the announcement:

[Ptashnikov] The explanation put forward by Abrahamson really does give rise, shall we say, to bewilderment. This is because, first, there is still more than 1 month to go before the U.S. presidential election, and no one is venturing to forecast the winner at the moment. The candidates from both parties are currently thought to be running about even. But let us suppose that the general is endowed with remarkable prophetic powers and knows in advance the name of the new president of the United States. Even then his argument about the future head of the U.S. Administration's different approach to the SDI program is not based on much at present. A month or so ago one could have understood Abrahamson, to some extent, since Democratic candidate Dukakis took an extremely negative view of the Strategic Defense Initiative. But recently his stance has undergone a sudden change. Now he not only favors the continuation of research within the SDI framework; he also states that, in certain circumstances, he would be prepared to embark on its deployment. As for Republican candidate Bush, his devotion to SDI is common knowledge. Therefore, Abrahamson now has no reason to fear that the new administration—whoever comes to power—will give up implementation of the Star Wars program. It must be pointed out, however, that both Dukakis and Bush acknowledge its excessive cost, especially in connection with the United States' extremely serious budget problems. Dukakis, therefore, intends to reduce SDI expenditure, and, for the same reasons, Bush favors a slimmed-down version of its implementation—during the first stage, at any rate. Quite possibly, it is precisely this factor which, in the main, does not suit Abrahamson.

The U.S. press also explains the general's imminent retirement by saying that he was unable to convince some leading scientists of SDI's technical feasibility. That is true. Skepticism on the subject among U.S.—and not just U.S.—specialists is steadily growing. But it must not be forgotten that the Strategic Defense Initiative has the powerful backing of the U.S. military-industrial complex. As a recent report by the Federation of American Scientists emphasizes, the military-industrial complex can, under any circumstances, make SDI's development and deployment irreversible.

But let us return to Abrahamson. It has been considered that his main task was to guarantee continuation of SDI implementation even after the departure of President Reagan. Developments show that Abrahamson has certainly fulfilled that task. It cannot be excluded that now it has simply been decided to replace him with someone else, someone who could give further impetus to SDI and successfully promote it even under a new administration. Many people consider that the man for the job is Lt

Gen Monahan, principal deputy to the assistant secretary for procurement, Department of the Air Force. He, at any rate, is the person being named as the most likely successor to Abrahamson.

[Charikov] Thank you.

Results of USSR-U.S. Tbilisi Forum Noted

PM2809103188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 24 Sep 88 p 2

[Report by special correspondents I. Mukhraneli and T. Golenpolskiy: "Into the 21st Century Together... Fourth USSR and U.S. Public Conference Has Ended in Tbilisi"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Tours of ancient Tbilisi alternated with heated discussions which were imbued with a desire to critically reassess the past and look into the future. Yes, it was the future, in the light of the new thinking, that was the focus of attention of the speakers addressing audiences from the high rostrum of the Georgian State Philharmonic Great Hall and the halls of the House of Cinema and the "Znaniye" Society.

T. Simons, U.S. assistant secretary of state (who unexpectedly cited the poem "Where Else Can You Find a Place Like Georgia..." by the Georgian romantic poet G. Orbeliani), noted that never before in the entire history of Soviet-U.S. relations have these ties been so constructive. We have to enter the 21st century together—this was the theme of many speeches. Reciprocal threats are gradually being replaced by a sober analysis of the situation, understanding of the need for dialogue, and observance of a balance of interests, P. Rodman, adviser to the U.S. National Security Council, stressed.

He invited his audience to take a trip into the past, scrupulously calculating the USSR's expenditures on military aid to Afghanistan and Nicaragua. At the same time he refused to disclose similar U.S. expenditures, pleading ignorance, although this question was put to him three times. Not all the propositions in P. Rodman's report, nor the report of Michael Mandelbaum, director of the "East-West Relations" program of the New York City Council for International Affairs, met with a positive reaction in the hall. According to Mandelbaum, for instance, solutions to regional conflicts and to global problems are to be sought above all in Europe. The speaker was expounding the old doctrine that Europe, especially Eastern Europe, is the zone of regional conflicts. The West, allegedly, is forced to react to the existing threat from the East. Mandelbaum described as unlawful the existence of socialist states in Europe and stated with conviction that if the status quo is preserved, "Europe will remain the focus of contradictions between the USSR and the United States." According to his logic, Soviet servicemen are currently stationed in the GDR because the USSR is planning to launch an attack against the West.... In our opinion, the speeches delivered by Academician Ye. Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, and other Soviet speakers put the record straight as regards these problems.

There was also a discussion on arms control questions. Ambassador M. Glitman, for instance, tried to convince everyone that SDI is a defensive program and proposed that the results of research under this program be shared. Colonel General N. Chervov replied to Glitman as follows: "There must be no weapons, neither Soviet nor American, in space. Allusions to the 'defensive nature' of SDI are an attempt to mislead public opinion."

Unfortunately the "roundtable" on human rights was not entirely satisfactory, revealing how painfully difficult it is to discard the old way of thinking.

"The press and the law," "the press and society," "the press and politics,"—these were the issues at the focus of the "roundtable" discussion on the theme of "The Mass Media," which was constructive and lively. For instance, M. Sturua, the IZVESTIYA observer, likened the two countries' press to mirrors which are sometimes straight and sometimes distorting. The degree to which the mirrors are accurate or distorting has always been determined by the state of Soviet-U.S. relations. The main thing now is not to establish whose mirror was "more distorting" but to try to straighten out the distortion, reflecting reality truthfully and moving away from the "enemy image." The U.S. writer and journalist H. Smith believes that in the past both Soviets and Americans regarded the socioeconomic and political differences between the two countries as a threat to their own existence. The time has now come to switch to the new thinking. According to H. Smith, the image of the Soviet Union in the eyes of Americans is changing. We have witnessed the beginning of the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, and our countries have embarked on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. This is not simply a change of image. It is a change of realities. It is no accident that 94 percent of Americans who took part in a public opinion poll a month ago thought that improved relations with the USSR are possible.

A statement by the Georgian public, which has long demanded that a decision be made on the fate of a historical cultural monument dating from early Christian times in Georgia—the David Garedzhi monastery complex—was received by participants in the meeting with due concern and understanding. However, elements bent on staging a provocation decided to make a point of drawing the attention of some of the U.S. delegation to this burning problem. What is surprising is that they were followed by a certain section of students who did not appear to give any thought to the fact that they were taking part in a blatant provocation. An unauthorized rally was held in the city. The combination of an intractable problem (which, incidentally, is receiving the attention of republic and union organs) and the ambitions of socially irresponsible people resulted in unpleasant events.... Most of the Americans, who are sincerely seeking collaboration with us, viewed what happened with understanding.

...The easiest way to get to know each other is through art. The concert of works by Brahms and Poulenc given by the Georgian State Symphony Orchestra under the leadership of D. Kakhidze, in which the U.S. violinist Mark Kaplan and cellist Colin Carr took part, and the visit by participants in the Tbilisi meeting to the workshop of USSR Lenin Prize winner Zurab Tsereteli were another step toward understanding. In the artist's workshop, the citizens of the two countries acquainted themselves with the original sources of Georgian art, the merging of innovation and tradition, and the continuity between different ages. Z. Tsereteli told the American friends that he has already completed preparations for a monument complex in Atlanta, which is Tbilisi's sister city. The artist calls it "Birth of the New Man." He will also "build" monuments in Washington and Moscow from missiles whose lethal "innards" have been removed. The monuments will crown, as it were, a historic stage when mankind, realizing the pernicious consequences of the arms race, has begun to blaze the trail toward peace and art....

Canada, Soviets To Restore Status Quo in Ties

LD2809205788 Montreal International Service in English 1930 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Canada and the Soviet Union have agreed to let bygones be bygones and allow more staff in each other's embassies. The decision in principle, taken at a meeting between the two countries' foreign ministers in New York, ends a conflict which began when Canada expelled a number of Soviet diplomats accused of spying in June. Shiela Bird reports:

[Bird] Canada's external affairs minister [Joe Clark] says he and his Soviet counterpart have agreed to turn the page on the tit-for-tat diplomatic expulsions which cooled their bilateral relations considerably last June. [passage omitted]

After a meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Mr Clark indicated that the issue was on its way to being resolved:

[Begin Clark recording] Well, I think that probably we're going to be able to resolve it quite soon. I think there was quite cordial, constructive conversation, recognizing that action had to be taken in June, that it is in the interests of both Canada and the Soviet Union to put those actions behind us, and there was a inclination on the part of both Mr Shevardnadze and myself to do that. [end recording]

[Bird] However, Mr Shevardnadze, speaking through a translator, told reporters that the matter was settled.

[Begin Shevardnadze recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] We have decided to restore the status quo that existed before. I believe this will be in the nearest future. [end recording]

[Bird] The bilateral discussions between the Canadian and Soviet foreign ministers were shortened because of Mr Shevardnadze's urgent return to Moscow, reportedly to take part in a Politburo meeting on the situation in the Armenian Republic.

China

CPC Plenum on Improving Economic Situation

OW2809155688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1435 GMT 27 Sep 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Text] It could be said that at present accelerated economic development is the key question for socialist countries. The Third CPC Plenum in Beijing concentrated its main attention on improving the economic situation in the country.

As you no doubt know, widespread transformation and reforms are taking place in China. The process is very complex and not everything goes smoothly. Therefore Yao Yilin, member of the CPC Political Bureau Standing Committee and PRC vice premier, gave detailed outlines of intended reforms in the area of prices and wages in his speech.

China Asks To Join UN Peace-Keeping Committee

LD2909001688 Moscow TASS in English 2232 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 29 TASS—China sent a message to the United Nations secretary general with a request to be admitted to the U.N. special committee on peace-keeping operations.

China's U.N. Ambassador Li Luye said in the message that peace-keeping operations were an efficient means to maintain international peace and security and played a positive role in easing regional conflicts and encouraging peaceful settlement of disputes.

China's request for participation in the committee's work was prompted by its desire to seek, jointly with other participating nations, to enhance the efficiency of U.N. peace-keeping operations.

Gorbachev Proposal Draws China's Attention

OW2809124788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Announcer-read report by station correspondent Kulikov in Beijing]

[Text] The new foreign policy proposal put forth by Soviet leader Gorbachev and his estimate of the Asia-Pacific situation, contained in his recent speech in Krasnoyarsk, have drawn the attention of Chinese political and social activists.

I have met recently with Chinese public figures. The 39th founding anniversary of the People's Republic of China, on 1 October, is only a few days away. Reviewing the past year in the PRC, those who have received me so that I can interview them have pointed out with satisfaction the conspicuous development of the relations between our two countries. They add that people are now more interested in Soviet-Chinese cooperation.

At a news briefing held in Beijing for Chinese and foreign journalists, a spokesman for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs commented on Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk speech at the request of a reporter. The Soviet leader's proposal, he stressed, concerns the security and stability of the Asia-Pacific region. In addition, the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman said: We have also noted that the Soviet Union is making efforts to bring as early a solution as possible to the Cambodia issue. Asked by a Soviet reporter about the possibility of a USSR-China summit, he replied by once again mentioning the precondition that there be withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. In any case, there has appeared a point of contact between the two countries on finding a solution to the Cambodia issue. Recently, the vice foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and China held talks in Beijing on the situation in Cambodia.

A well-known Chinese economist, Pu Shan, in an interview with this reporter, expressed his firm belief that the ongoing economic and political structural reforms in China and the Soviet Union have increased the possibility of expanding cooperation between the two countries. He said: The relations between our two countries have a complicated history. As I recall, our two countries conducted close economic cooperation during the 1950's. At that time, Soviet comrades gave us great assistance, for which we are very grateful. There was also a period of deterioration in our relations, and this naturally led to a break in the economic relations between the two countries. However, the situation has changed in recent years. With the normalization of the relations between the two countries, our trade ties, scientific cooperation, and contacts in other fields have developed quickly. All this is in the interests of both countries and is to the advantage of the world situation as a whole.

Commentary Views Coastal Border Area Status

OW2909001388 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Mulatov commentary]

[Text] When I read the press report on the decision made by the RSFSR government to free the coastal border areas from a special closed status, I knew that from now on all the restrictions concerning travel in the USSR Far East region imposed on Soviet people and foreigners would be lifted, and the legal and administrative obstacles preventing local authorities and enterprises in the USSR Far East from trade and cooperation with China and other trading partners would be removed. I think that the local governments and departments concerned in China's northeastern provinces will pay more attention to exploring the possibilities of expanding trade and economic relations with the USSR Far East region. They will also formulate concrete plans in this regard.

This is precisely what people say [words indistinct]. Presently, the local government of Nakhodka is preparing to join economists in Moscow in formulating three plans for establishing special economic zones in its adjacent areas. I think that Japanese industrialists and Chinese officials in charge of foreign economic relations of China's northeastern and coastal regions are interested in these plans.

I would like to point out that the special economic zones in the USSR Far East region will enjoy preferential treatment with respect to tariffs, taxes, and patents in foreign trade. Comrade Gorbachev mentioned this point in his recent speech at Krasnoyarsk City. Chinese newspapers published detailed excerpts of his speech. We are doing what we have said we would do, and we are implementing the plan for expanding foreign economic relations in the USSR Far East. The plan was conceived in the course of reform.

Soviet-Chinese Tourism: 'People's Diplomacy'

PM2809153188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 27 Sep 88 p 3

[Own correspondent V. Cherkasov report: "One Day in China"]

[Text] Blagoveshchensk-Heihe—On the morning of 24 September the ship "Moskva-82" left the quay of the Blagoveshchensk river terminal and set out for the Amur's other shore—the Chinese port of Heihe. In the middle of the mighty river it sounded its siren to salute a vessel coming in the opposite direction, on which Chinese tourists were traveling to the USSR. So, for the first time in the two fraternal countries' history a border exchange of tourist groups has begun, without currency payment and on a basis of parity.

A temporary checkpoint has been built at the jetty in Blagoveshchensk. A. Kravchenko, Khabarovsk customs chief, is working there because they still do not have their own customs office. Checking the travel documents of 40 people took half an hour. There was no baggage check since there was no baggage as such—no one is going to drag around a suitcase for 1 day abroad.

"The procedure for drawing up the documents is extremely simplified," A. Kravchenko told me, while the passengers were taking their seats on the ship. "As in any socialist country, the tourist is issued a passport without a visa. To get one he has to fill out just a short tourist's questionnaire. And also, of course, pay for the trip. In summer it costs R22, in winter R19. Plus an additional R50, which are changed to 50 yuan to buy souvenirs."

The ship went out into the main stream. As the well-known waltz goes, the Amur is not smooth but swift, full of fall rains. Behind the sun was rising. People swarmed on the Heihe jetty. Saturday here is a normal workday. I looked at the unfamiliar shore as it rapidly approached. And I could not help wondering what had gone before this. Why had it become possible for these 40 people—Blagoveshchensk workers and employees—to go without formalities to this nearby country just to spend their day off?

Our governments' new political thinking, their good will? Undoubtedly. But good-neighborliness has also been a constantly growing phenomenon. That new phenomenon which we now call people's diplomacy.

I recall the important events which have taken place in Blagoveshchensk since the beginning of this year. An international symposium on problems of studying the Pacific Ocean abyssal structure and its continental surround was held in August. A separate Soviet-Chinese meeting took place there. Understandably so. The Chinese delegation was the largest of all the foreign groups. Leaders of scientific research establishments, universities, and geological organizations well known in the republic came to us. The close ties between Chinese scientists and the Amur Comprehensive Scientific Research Institute had a beneficial effect on the general atmosphere.

According to the results of the meeting a so-called protocol of intentions was worked out. This concerns the creation of a joint Soviet-Chinese expedition to research the Amur Basin and an exchange of information to faciliate study of the earth's crust in adjacent territories and to correct the geological map. As we see, science which has the opportunity to enrich itself is confidently paving the way to the future.

A conference also took place here in Blagoveshchensk to examine questions about the economic ties of autonomous republics, krays and oblasts in Siberia and the Far East with states in the Asia-Pacific region. Is it any wonder that this city was once again chosen as the place to hold it?

"We are the only city in the country where you can look right at a foreign city across a river. The idea of direct partnership ties can be felt no more profoundly than here. We, by the way, were the first to establish these ties," P. Simonets, deputy chairman of Amur Oblispolkom, told me. "And what is more, the conference participants wanted to see an exhibition of goods from the Chinese Heihe district which was being held here at that time. During the talks we specifically discussed questions of the allocation of construction orders, the building of joint enterprises, and the utilization of manpower."

Furthermore, the conference helped to resolve the problem of the completely absurd degree of competition which emerged among our individual oblasts and krays when agreements with foreign partners were being concluded. For example, someone names one price for his commodity. A neighboring oblast, attempting to win over the "foreigner," names a much lower price for it. And a third, wishing to outdo everyone, lowers the price even more. As a result the country receives less than it could have had.

Now a policy of single prices is being implemented. By the way, the Chinese partners have adhered to this practice from the very beginning.

... A clear fall day. It is warm. The tourists are dressed in summer clothes. I recalled how cars went from shore to shore across the ice-bound Amur during the winter. Despite the fact that it was obviously not the navigation season, V. Nikolayev's brigade of dockers at the Blagoveshchensk river port was busy working. Even in the frosts the so-called barter, or border trade between the Amur cooperative workers and trade organizations from the Heihe district still goes on. L. Yezhova, chief of the export and import department of the oblast consumers' union, said:

"The Chinese side needs mineral fertilizers. We assign them from market allocations, and they go into the Heihe stocks all the year round. But we are none the worse. Whereas last year we received goods worth R1.8 million, this year the amount will increase substantially. The border trade will help us to supply our stores with fruit, textiles and knitted goods... "

In November last year joint work by Soviet and Chinese specialists to create schemes to utilize the Amur and the Argun for constructing joint GES's was resumed. A cultural exchange is being developed.

That is why we had no personal baggage with us, although we had behind us a great deal of work done by both sides to strengthen good-neighborliness. The development of economic ties inevitably leads to close contact among people, to that same people's diplomacy which politicians throughout the world are now acknowledging.

A tall Chinese sailor skillfully took the rope which had been thrown and moored our ship to the jetty wall. The customs procedure, cut down just as ours had been, was awaiting us in Heihe. And on leaving the river terminal we saw a huge crowd of Chinese who had come to meet us. Smiles and handshakes. A meeting of friendship between the two peoples. Speeches of welcome by Wang Shiqu (a woman) and Viktor Semin, deputies of the Chinese-Soviet and Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society boards. Laying flowers at the monument to our soldiers who died during China's liberation from the Japanese militarists. A trip around the city and its environs.

In former times I would have written that ignorance of the language did not in any way interfere with contact between us and the Chinese. Let me say honestly that it did interfere! We have a poor knowledge of each other's languages— we of theirs, and they of ours. The most sincere smiles and cordial handshakes are no substitute for talking to each other. You run to the interpreter for every question. It is a good thing that a specialized school was opened 3 years ago in Blagoveshchensk for studying Chinese. This year a Chinese language department was opened in the local teaching institute. The Russian language is also being studied at educational institutions in Heihe district.

It is impossible to take in everything in a day. But everything that we did manage to see left an impression. Some 20km from Heihe we looked at the new Woniuhe reservoir. The golden fall, the amazingly blue sky, and the equally beautiful water, which the Chinese guard vigilantly from any unwanted waste, left a vivid impression on us as tourists.

Some 60,000 people live in Heihe. But the city is growing rapidly. Housing and new enterprises are being erected. And although almost all the work is done manually, the Chinese have a high standard of building. Their construction work is beautiful!

There is no public transportation on the central streets, and the air is clean. There is a great deal of parking space for bicycles—the main form of transportation here. The people are well-meaning and hospitable. Service in the stores is such as to offer us a lesson.

Toward evening on the city's main street I met a group of Blagoveshchensk construction workers led by A. Lagutin, chief of the Amur Main Construction Administration. They had already been here for 2 days.

"We have just signed a contract with the Heihe district authorities," Anatoliy Semenovich said. "Around 400 Chinese construction workers are going to build a new hotel, a theater, and other facilities in Blagoveshchensk. On a mutually advantageous basis, of course...

We returned home late in the evening on a Chinese boat. The general impression of the Blagoveshchensk people was that the trip was successful. We simply cannot live next to each other and not be on friendly terms.

"How often will there be such trips, and who can take part in them?" I asked G. Trushin, general director of the "Amurturist" association.

"Through the end of this year we shall be sending to China 12 groups with 40 people in each. Next year there will be around 100."

"And what if a pensioner wants to go on a trip to China?" I asked again.

"For this he will have to approach the organization where he is on the party or trade union record. In the future, I think, there will also be groups of guests from other oblasts in the country."

PRC Delegation Meets Soviet Sinologists

OW2909001588 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] A delegation from China's Association for International Understanding met with leaders of the USSR's All-Union Association of Sinologists in Moscow on 27 September. The delegation was led by Xu Yingjiu, director of the Institute for Study on Restructuring Economic System and member of the board of directors of the Association for International Understanding of China.

The Chinese guests arrived in our country on 26 September at the invitation of the All-Union Association of Sinologists. Comrade Titarenko, chairman of the board of directors of the All-Union Association of Sinologists and director of the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, welcomed the Chinese delegation. The two sides briefed each other on the activities of their respective associations and the reforms in the Soviet Union and China.

Chinese Farmers Grow Melons in Maritime Kray

OW2709115488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1100 GMT 25 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; A. Krutov video report]

[Text] [Begin recording] [Krutov] Everything began with this watermelon. A delegation from Pogranichnyy Rayon, Maritime Kray, visited its neighbors in Heilongjiang Province. They were treated to watermelons like this one, sweet and juicy watermelons. [video shows Krutov handling watermelons in a field] So our comrades got to thinking: What is going on after all? We are getting watermelons from Uzbekistan while here we have our neighbors growing them. So they decided on the following: We will give you the land, you use your seeds, your labor, and your own techniques. Agreement was reached. The arrangement was to leave 60 percent of the watermelons here and to take 40 percent.

So now summer is over and autumn is at hand. What do we have? What are the results? [video shows a group of Chinese farmers]

[Chinese farmer] We liked it here, the land is good.

[Krutov] Would you like to expand cooperation?

[Chinese farmer] Of course, both from your side and our side.

[Krutov] Well then, let us see what kind of a harvest we have. Who will cut the watermelon? [video shows Chinese farmer cutting watermelons] Well it's a beauty, why don't we all try it then. [end recording]

The people in Pogranichnyy Rayon have understood: Nothing ventured, nothing gained. So they have not waited for directives from above for instructions to be independent, to show more initiative and responsibility.

U.S. Continues To Pursue Two-China Policy

OW2709122488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Karavayev commentary: "It Is Still a Two-China Policy"]

[Text] Dear listeners: As you know, U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci recently made a 6-day visit to China. When he concluded his visit, he expressed satisfaction with the current state of Sino-U.S. relations. He also advocated further strengthening Sino-U.S. cooperation. However, conspicuously during his China visit he obstinately avoided discussing the main tender spot in bilateral relations, the Taiwan question. What is the reason for this?

Journalists who reported on Carlucci's China visit hold that the problem involved here is that the United States is not planning to stop its military cooperation with Taiwan as demanded by the PRC. A few days ago, (Jackson), an assistant to the U.S. defense secretary, dealt clearly with this point.

What place does the Taiwan question occupy in Sino-U.S. relations? Let us review some history in order to understand this point clearly. As everyone knows, after the PRC's founding in 1949, the United States adopted a very hostile stance toward the new Beijing regime. The United States used its new weapons in an attempt to strangle the Chinese revolution by military means. In this regard, the Taiwan authorities played a principal role. On the pretext of facing a military threat from the China mainland, the United States sent warships of its 7th Fleet (?to patrol the waters off the China coast). In addition, it took emergency measures to strengthen the fighting capabilities of Taiwan's armed forces. For instance, the Chiang Kai-shek elements were given U.S.-made B-17 bombers. With generous U.S. economic and military aid, military infrastructures were built all over Taiwan. In a word, Taiwan became a fortress blocking shipping to the China mainland, a fortress hostile to China.

Years passed before the U.S. authorities changed their official attitude toward China. After China and the United States established diplomatic relations in 1979, Washington personages kept expressing their friendship toward Great China. They time and again assured that the United States respects China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

After signing the Shanghai Communique in 1982, the White House undertook the obligation to reduce the scope of its military cooperation with Taiwan. But actual U.S. policy has not conformed with the communique. Contrary to the commitment it made, the United States has not reduced but increased its assistance to the Taiwan authorities. In addition to directly supplying Taiwan with U.S.$700 million worth of weapons this year, the United States has also provided it with a hard-to-determine amount of secret aid.

Giant U.S. military industries, such as General Dynamics, McDonnell Douglas Aircraft Corporation, [words indistinct], and scores of their branches are doing business in Taiwan. With U.S. patents, A-5E fighters, ground-to-air missiles, electronic equipment, radar, laser sighting devices, and other modern military equipment are being produced in Taiwan. Here, I would like to mention also that the United States has supplied a large number of weapons to Taiwan through third countries, such as Israel and the Republic of South Africa.

Dear listeners, facts show that the United States continues to pursue its two-China policy, disregarding the obligation it undertook in the 1982 Shanghai Communique. True, Washington personages assure that the present U.S.-Taiwan military cooperation is not directed against China. But this does not change the crux of the matter. As it did several decades ago, the United State is now trampling on the PRC's legitimate rights and interests as well as its sovereignty by arming the Chiang Kai-shek authorities.

Northeast Asia

Police Disperse Student Demonstration in Seoul

LD2809144288 Moscow TASS in English 1431 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Tokyo September 28 TASS—Special units of South Korean police today raided the campus of Korea University in Seoul and dispersed the demonstration of students who demanded the release of their arrested leader.

Police used tear gas grenades against the protestors. The students pelted police with stones and home-made petrol bombs. There are wounded.

More than 400 students staged the demonstration at the university campus in north east of Seoul demanding the immediate release of O Yong-sik, leader of the National Federation of Students, who was arrested on September 22 on charges of organising antigovernment protests this summer.

MPRP's Batmonh Hails Krasnoyarsk Proposals

PM2809112788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Security and Cooperation. The Soviet Proposals Meet the People's Interests and Aspirations"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 26 Sep—Mongolia greatly welcomes and fully supports the new initiatives on strengthening peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region put forward by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk. This was stated by Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the MPR People's Great Hural, during a conversation with the rectors of academies and communist and workers parties' higher party-political educational establishments in socialist and a number of developing countries. They were attending a conference in Ulaanbaatar that has now ended.

We see this initiative as a logical development and further deepening of the Soviet Union's well-known Vladivostok program and of the ideas of the Delhi declaration on the establishment of a nuclear-free, nonviolent world. It is a major new Soviet contribution to easing tension and strengthening the climate of trust in the Asian-Pacific region, the Mongolian leader stressed.

Our party and the MPR Government, he said, will do all they can in their foreign policy efforts to promote the important new Soviet proposals which meet the interests and aspirations of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific basin.

Commentary Views Japan's Persian Gulf Policy

OW2909051088 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1000 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] The Soviet Government has issued a special statement welcoming the armistice in the Persian Gulf and appealing to all peace-loving nations to join efforts to bring about a final end to the war which [words indistinct] through peaceful means. The question of establishing stability in the Persian Gulf area is affected to a large extent by the position taken by other countries. Radio Moscow's commentator Yuriy Alekseyev analyzes Japan's position on the Persian Gulf problem.

As you all know, Japan was one of the coauthors of UN Security Council Resolution 595 which opened the way for the settlement of the Persian Gulf problem. During the process of formulating the resolution, an ideal relationship of cooperation and mutual understanding was built between the delegates of the USSR and Japan. This brought about great positive results. We believe that such good tradition should be further developed in solving the Persian Gulf problem and in discussing other issues.

The situation in the Persian Gulf has come to the point where concrete actions to promote the peace process are required. Presently, we believe that there are many things a major economic power like Japan can do. The USSR knows that the Japanese Government and business circles intend to assist Iran and Iraq in developing its postwar economy and expanding trade with Japan. It believes that Japan will proceed to consider possibilities of comprehensive economic assistance to Iran and Iraq, including financial assistance, restoration of their economic capabilities and implementation of industrial projects. Such economic assistance by Japan to Iran and Iraq is not only very significant for the maintenance of peace and stability in the Persian Gulf, but is also in the national interest of Japan, which imports nearly 70 percent of its petroleum from Middle Eastern countries.

We feel that however important the economic aspect is, it has to be in step with the political tempo. Unfortunately, in this aspect, the Japanese Government has so far failed to take any significant initiative. What will set the major direction of such activities is the building of an international consensus toward a way to reduce military presence in the Persian Gulf area. The USSR believes that there is a need for all countries concerned to discuss ways to prevent the appearance of nuclear weapons in the Persian Gulf area, eliminate weapons of mass destruction, and build mutual trust.

It is a well-known fact that until recently, the Japanese Government has actively supported the U.S. military interference in the Persian Gulf area. In that regard, there is a need to realize that a fundamentally new political situation has been created as a result of the armistice in the Iran-Iraq war. Except for countries in the area, the need for other countries to send naval fleets to the Persian Gulf has been completely eliminated. The fact that in any area of the world unilateral military action will only aggravate the danger of escalation of disputes has been unequivocally and clearly proven by history. The USSR is ready to immediately withdraw its fleet if countries other than those located in the Persian Gulf area will also do so. We would like to believe that under the new situation, Japan will be able to change its old approach to free passage and navigational safety of ships.

Japan, which is closely tied to the United States by military and political cooperation, is in the best position to speak with authority on the question of demilitarization in the Persian Gulf. Japan is also expected to express its full views on the possibility of international regulations on the guarantee of navigational safety in the Persian Gulf. On the question of such international regulations, we believe that the permanent members of the UN Security Council and similar organs should establish a guarantee system. In other words, the armistice between Iran and Iraq has opened up prospects for bilateral and multilateral relationships of cooperation. A stable and lasting peace in the Persian Gulf is not only necessary for all countries, but if tranquility returns to this area, there will also be favorable ramifications in the consultations on peace in the Middle East and all other processes, and even in the overall world situation. There will be positive influences on international economic and political relations as well. Under such a new situation, the USSR, Japan, and the whole international community must join efforts to prevent a resumption of the war.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Further Reportage on Visit by Lao Prime Minister

Talks With Gorbachev 27 Sep

PM2809104388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Friendly Meeting"]

[Text] On 27 September M.S. Gorbachev met with K. Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] Council of Ministers, who is on a working visit to the Soviet Union.

Speaking about the situation in the country, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized: We now have the policy of restructuring, which embraces the party, the state, the economy, the social and cultural spheres, and international activity. It is a question not of superficial, cosmetic measures but of revolutionary transformations aimed at fully revealing the potential of socialism in our country. The most important thing now is to ensure understanding of the fact that all the major tasks facing us can be successfully resolved through restructuring and the active involvement of the entire people and of each Soviet person in this creative process.

K. Phomvihan noted the international significance of Soviet restructuring, whose experience the LPRP is using as applied to the conditions in its own country. The party's strategy and tactics, defined by its fourth congress, are built on the Leninist ideas of the new economic policy. The task has been set of using all the existing economic structures in the country to develop production forces and improve the people's life. An important role in this is played by the broad introduction of the family contract into agriculture, the long-term leasing of land to peasants, the establishment of contract relations within cooperatives, the transfer of industrial enterprises to economic accountability [khozraschet], and the reorganization of the financial system. The first experience has shown the effectiveness of the new policy—the rate of increase in gross output, labor productivity, wages, and enterprises' profits have increased considerably. Simultaneously with the reform, K. Phomvihan said, we are carrying out great educational work and seeking to shape new thinking in people.

After listening to his interlocutor with great interest, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that, although conditions in our countries are different, the search is on in one and same direction—how to democratize ownership relations, make the person the master, and reveal his abilities in the political sphere and the sphere of social relations.

After exchanging opinions on the state of cooperation between the two parties and countries, the participants in the talks expressed satisfaction with what has been done in this sphere recently. At the same time it was emphasized that restructuring in the Soviet Union and the reform of the economic mechanism in Laos are opening up new opportunities for enhancing the efficiency of economic cooperation in the interests of the two countries' peoples.

During the discussion of international issues special attention was devoted to the situation in the Asia and Pacific region. K. Phomvihan rated highly the new Soviet proposals set forth in Krasnoyarsk as an organic continuation and development of the Vladivostok program for peace and security in the Asia and Pacific region. Laos supports these proposals and will make its contribution to realizing them.

M.S. Gorbachev welcomed the 7-point initiatives advanced by Laos for turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and cooperation free from nuclear weapons and the measures being taken by the LPDR to improve relations with Thailand and to develop cooperation with other states in the region.

The participants in the talks noted the positive progress in seeking a political settlement of the Cambodian problem on the basis of national concord. The informal meeting in Jakarta was an important step on this path. The Soviet Union and Laos are ready to promote in every possible way the just and speediest normalization of the situation around Cambodia.

V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was present at the meeting, which was held in a cordial, comradely atmosphere.

Gives Luncheon Speech

PM2809131188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS account of speech by Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Lao People's Democratic Republic Council of Ministers, at 27 September Kremlin lunch given in his honor by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers under general heading: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev! Comrades! Allow me first to express my profound and sincere gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers for the invitation to pay a working visit to the Soviet Union and for the warm reception that I have been accorded.

I would like to take this opportunity to convey feelings of friendship and solidarity to Communists and all Soviet people on behalf of Lao communists and working people of all Laos' ethnic groups and to express the heartfelt wish that the courageous Soviet people, who were the first in the world to embark on the path of building socialism, will achieve new successes in restructuring and bring their homeland to a qualitatively new level of socialist society.

In recent years meetings between the leaders of our two countries' parties and governments have become a good tradition. Each such meeting, especially the present one, which is taking place at a time when Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people are working strenuously on implementing the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, helps us to better perceive experience of implementing restructuring and deepens mutual understanding. This is a firm basis for further strengthening the fraternal solidarity and friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance between our two countries.

It is with a sense of profound satisfaction that we note that in the short time since the 27th congress the CPSU has created a theoretical foundation and mechanism for restructuring and gradually overcome negative tendencies which threatened a slide toward a crisis situation. Now, thanks to the process of democratization and glasnost, which is a most important component of restructuring, a new, healthy political and spiritual atmosphere has taken shape in the Soviet Union and the masses are taking an increasingly active and proprietorial part in the management of the state and society. The successes of restructuring are of historic significance not only for the Soviet Union, they also have an active influence on the socialist system and the movement for peace and social progress.

We well understand that there will be many difficulties and obstacles on the path of restructuring—this profoundly revolutionary process that affects all spheres of social and economic life. However, we are confident that, thanks to a tried and tested correct strategy and the revolutionary sentiments of the Soviet people, restructuring will be implemented consistently and steadfastly.

Dear comrades!

In 2 months the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] will celebrate its 13th anniversary. Throughout this period the people's power in Laos has constantly grown stronger, tranquillity and public order have been reliably ensured, and the economy has stabilized and gradually progressed. However, the economic achievements do not match up to the funds that have been invested and the aid that we have been given by fraternal and friendly countries. In recent years stagnation phenomena have arisen in production and the imbalance in the state budget has increased. In order to extricate the country from this position the Fourth Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] Congress elaborated a course of comprehensive changes, which was later concretized in the decisions of the 5th and 6th Central Committee plenums. These changes were based on the correct application of the Leninist ideas of the new economic policy in Laos' real socioeconomic situation, with due regard for contemporary development trends. Our aim is to boost the development of productive forces, reorganize the social division of labor, and ensure a gradual transition from a subsistence economy [naturalnoye khozyaystvo] to socialist commodity production.

We are encountering many difficulties on the path of change: the lack of the requisite material preconditions for a transition to socialism, conservative thinking among small-scale producers, and the habit of old administrative-edict management methods. Moreover, the need to repulse enemies and the struggle under way in the country between two paths of development also affect the pace of our progress. However, we have already secured definite results in the 2 years that we have been effecting the changes. The main thing is that the party and the entire people approved and ardently supported the course of change and of utilizing various forms of economic activity during the transitional period. Working people's enthusiasm and initiative have increased appreciably. The simultaneous development of various juridically equal economic structures is facilitating a further increase in production and an increase in national wealth. Effective new forms of foreign economic cooperation are being introduced. All this is a reliable guarantee of our country's confident advance toward socialism.

Dear comrades, the international situation is now changing for the better. There is a growing tendency to resolve contentious issues by political means, through talks. Important changes are also taking place in the struggle to curb the nuclear arms race and reduce armed forces. All mankind welcomes the conclusion of the USSR-U.S. Treaty the Elimination on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, which has already begun to be put into practice. This is undoubtedly one of the results of restructuring in the sphere of international relations. At the same time it is also the result of joint actions by the peoples of socialist and other countries in an endeavor to resolve the problem of ensuring peace, preserving civilization, and ensuring mankind's survival on the basis of the new political thinking.

We wholeheartedly welcome and fully approve the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government and primarily the Soviet Union's untiring efforts to implement the program for eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000, which would enable mankind to live in a world free from mass destruction weapons.

In recent years the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and, in particular, in Southeast Asia has also improved in accordance with the ideas of the Vladivostok program and the Delhi declaration on a nonviolent and nuclear-free world. The Soviet Union's new peace initiatives put forward by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev 16 September in Krasnoyarsk vividly attested to the Soviet Union's good will and its desire to implement the program for creating an all-embracing system of Asian security.

The LPDR assesses highly India's role in the Nonaligned Movement and its active contribution to ensuring peace and stability in Asia and throughout the world.

We welcome the improvement in Sino-Soviet relations. We hope that in the new atmosphere the PRC and the SRV will sit down at the negotiating table in order to normalize their relations in a short time. This would be an important contribution to the cause of peace and security in this region of the globe.

As a state in Southeast Asia, the LPDR, together with the SRV and the PRK, is endeavoring to establish mutually advantageous relations between the Indochina countries and the ASEAN members and to transform the Asia-Pacific region into a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation. The success of the informal meeting in Bogor graphically demonstrated the positive changes in this area.

We fully support the PRK's stance regarding a political solution of the Cambodian problem, which was expounded by Hun Sen 25 July 1988. The three Indochina countries are united in the thought that the resolution of the Cambodian problem is inseparable from the task of ensuring peace and stability in Southeast Asia. The withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodia must be linked with prevention of a restoration of the genocidal regime in Cambodia and the cessation of foreign aid to Pol Pot's supporters. This viewpoint won the support of all the participants in the informal meeting in Bogor, with the exception of the Pol Pot grouping's representative.

Laos has always held an invariable principled stance in its relations with the Kingdom of Thailand. We advocate resolving all problems between the two countries by peaceful means and maintaining and developing good-neighborliness between the peoples of Laos and Thailand on the basis of the two joint Lao-Thai communiques of 1979. We hope that Thailand's new government will act in the spirit of its statements on relations with Indochina and will resume Lao-Thai talks with a view to normalizing most speedily bilateral relations and transforming the border between the two states into a border of peace and friendship.

We believe that the strict fulfillment of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan will ensure conditions for and guarantee the implementation of the national reconciliation policy being conducted by the Afghan Government.

The LPDR ardently supports the DPRK's constructive efforts aimed at the peaceful and independent unification of the country and the transformation of the Korean peninsula into a nuclear weapon-free peace zone. The LPDR welcomes the cessation of the long and bloody Iran-Iraq war and supports the proposal on convening an international conference aimed at attaining an all-embracing settlement of the conflict in the Near East and states its immutable and consistent support for the Arab people of Palestine's struggle for their legitimate rights, including the right to create their own state.

We believe that the correct way of solving the problems of Central America by peaceful means lies in the strict fulfillment of the Guatemalan agreements and we fully support Nicaragua's position of good will. Laos supports the positions of Cuba and Angola on the problem of Southwest Africa.

The LPDR will continue to make a vigorous contribution to the peoples' joint struggle for peace, national independence, and social progress. We will do our utmost to help broaden multifaceted international economic cooperation on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual advantage.

Dear comrades! The Lao people will always remember that all the victories of the Lao revolution both in the past and also nowadays are linked with the great effective aid of the Soviet Union. It is with a sense of pride that we note the invariable close cohesion between our two parties, which is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

For the past 13 years relations between our countries have been comprehensively developed. The Soviet Union's selfless aid enabled the LPDR to overcome the difficulties of the first years of people's power and create a material and technical base for the national economy. Evidence of this invaluable aid can now be seen in virtually every corner of our country. At the end of this year we will celebrate the successful completion of the construction of a number of important facilities, above all strategic Highway No 9, which will provide Laos with a reliable outlet to the sea.

Naturally relations between our two countries are not completely devoid of shortcomings and still do not match up to all the expectations that we have of them. However, in their sincere desire to help the LPDR grow stronger and embark confidently on the path of building socialism, Soviet comrades are seeking effective forms and methods of cooperation with us. We are convinced that the restructuring of the mechanism for bilateral economic ties in accordance with the accords that have been reached, which are already beginning to be translated into practical action, will boost Lao-Soviet cooperation to a qualitatively new level.

Allow me to express once again my sincere thanks and the gratitude of the party, government, and people of Laos for the tremendous all-around aid invariably offered by the CPSU, the Soviet Government, and the people of the USSR to the Lao revolution. I wish the fraternal Soviet people new successes in implementing the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 12th 5-Year Plan for the USSR's socioeconomic development.

May the fraternal solidarity and all-around cooperation between the LPDR and the USSR grow stronger and develop!

I wish Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, all Soviet leaders, and the comrades here good health!

Lays Wreath at Lenin Mausoleum

PM2809144388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the general heading: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] On 27 September]K. Phomvihan visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. He honored the memory of the founder of the world's first socialist state and the founder of the CPSU with a minute's silence.

The guest paid his respects to the Soviet soldiers who died in the struggle against fascism for the sake of peace and the peoples' happiness. He laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin wall.

K. Phomvihan was accompanied by V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Cambodian, Lao Party Officials Visit USSR

PM2809135188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Sep 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A delegation from the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee International Department visited the Soviet Union 15-26 September in accordance with the plan for CPSU-KPRP interparty ties to familiarize itself with the experience of the CPSU's international activity. The Cambodian comrades had meetings and talks at CPSU Central Committee departments and visited the Uzbek SSR, where they were received at the republic's Communist Party Central Committee.

A delegation of party workers from the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] visited the Soviet Union 14-26 September in accordance with the plan for CPSU-LPRP interparty ties. The Lao comrades studied the experience of CPSU activity in organizing agitation and propaganda work under present-day conditions. Meetings and talks were held at CPSU Central Committee departments, the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy, and a number of ideological institutions.

The delegation also toured the Kirghiz SSR, where it was received at the republic's Communist Party Central Committee and familiarized itself with the work of local party organizations and labor collectives.

Vo Chi Cong Departure for Home Detailed

AU2809130488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY
in Russian 25 Sep 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "The SRV Delegation Ends Its Visit"]

[Text] We are very pleased with the results of this visit to the Soviet Union. The conversation held with M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, the talks with A.A. Gromyko, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and the meetings in the Ukraine were very important. They have given a new impetus to the further consolidation of the fraternal friendship and all-round Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation at the present stage. This is how Vo Chi Cong, CPV Central Committee Politburo member and SRV State Council chairman, who was in our country on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, evaluated his visit to Moscow and Kiev.

Vo Chi Cong visited the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Darnitsa silk combine, the N.F. Vatutin sovkhoz in Vyshgorodskiy Rayon, Kiev Oblast, the Ye.O. Paton Arc Welding Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, and secondary school No 251 which is a basic organization in the Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship Society.

On 24 September Vo Chi Cong left for home. At Borispol Airport, with the state flags of the SRV, the USSR, and the Ukrainian SSR flying, the CPV Central Committee Politburo member and SRV State Council chairman was seen off by V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; N.G. Khomenko, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary; V.P. Osnach, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; A.M. Zlenko, Ukrainian SSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; N.V. Lavrukhin, Kiev Gorispolkom first deputy chairman; and other officials. The farewell party included Vietnamese students studying at Kiev higher educational institutions.

G.P. Pallayev, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy chairman, who accompanied the guest on the country tour; D.I. Kachin, USSR ambassador to the SRV; Nguyen Manh Kan, SRV ambassador to the USSR; and other officials also departed Kiev.

Commentary Views Burma's Economic Problems
BK2809125588 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Aleksandr Vladimirov commentary: "Burma—A Difficult Decision To Make]

[Text] Following massive strikes and demonstrations for 45 days, calm has returned to Burmese cities. People stayed home after discovering that, compared to a few months back, rice and other foodstuffs are getting even more difficult to find. There is shortage of fuel for trucks and passenger cars, and trade has become paralyzed as buying power has drastically declined. While these problems have to be resolved on a daily basis, Burma still has to answer the question: What system will it choose for the future?

Some people are saying Burma does not have the capability to choose a socioeconomic system without the advice from others. Is this really true? Personally, I believe Burma already has some experience in this regard. Finding funds for economic projects was the most difficult part of a development plan, as had been discovered since the drafting of the Pyidawtha Plan [by the then Prime Minister U Nu government]. As every knows, the U Nu government finally had to decline the financial assistance offered by the U.S. Government, because the United States was supporting Kuomintang aggression in Burma.

Moreover, a similar problem was encountered in 1962 when the Revolutionary Council decided that the main objective of economic projects will be to serve the working people and not the capitalists and the landlords. The council, learning from the negative aspects of working with Western investments, decided that the state should rely on its own resources. Burma, which has remained an agriculture country until today, could only find the capital it needs by imposing tax on the farmers and by expanding production. Despite the Burma Socialist Program Party's declared intention of upholding the interests of the workers and the peasants, this led to excessive exploitation of farmers and a push to increase exports only. The fact that the strategy was wrong is now being admitted both verbally and in writings. However, we cannot avoid pointing out a fact here.

If that strategy was wrong, then, I believe the key mistake was failing to take into account the inequitable economic relations between the developing nations and the capitalist countries. It was impossible for Burma, which was greatly dependent on raw materials and foodstuffs in the international markets, to compete against the other rice producing nations like the United States—economically a very strong nation. Prices of Burma's raw material exports declined steadily. For instance, throughout the 1980's the value of Burma's export goods declined yearly by about $100 million. The consequence of this is that Burma was unable to buy spares and new machinery for its factories. Economic indices took a downward trend and the country became poorer with time.

Western experts suggest that the only way out of this problem is to bring in massive Western investments, and some Western nations are also willing to do it under certain conditions. For instance, Japan has been trying hard to establish a multinational group to coordinate aid to Burma in the same way as it had done for Indonesia. But the decision to agree to it is not an easy one for Burma, because a consultative group of aid donor countries for Burma was also set up in the 1970's. Although it is true that there were signs of an economic revival, we still have to study the final result. According to the latest figures, Burma has a debt burden of over $4 billion, and almost all of its export earnings are being used to repay the debts. Experts point out that Burma will not be able to escape from this debt burden. Hence, when developed capitalist countries come up with pledges to offer assistance, it becomes difficult for Burma to decide, because, as usual, the accompanying suggestions usually ask for the freeing of the economy and trade. Taking Indonesia's case as an example, what freeing up the economy and trade actually means is to give a free hand to the national entrepreneurs and foreign capitalists.

From one point of view, it might be thought that without the strict government control over the economy, it might be possible for Burma to avoid the same mistakes that the U Ne Win government had made in fixing farm prices. As everybody knows, some of the farm programs implemented under that government had made the peasants lose interest in the producing agriculture. But from another angle, the French publication, [name indistinct], points out that some of those suggesting complete democratic freedom in Burma may want the same liberty as a fox would want in a chicken coop. There may be some truth behind the French publication. Burma's interests can only be furthered when the Burmese people resolve their own problems without any interference and pressure from outside.

Near East & South Asia

Yazov Continues Visit to India, Tours Air Base
LD2809174588 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] New Delhi September 28 TASS—Army General Dmitriy Yazov, alternate CPSU CC Politiburo member and Soviet defence minister, who is now on an official visit in India, continues his tour of the country. Today he visited an airforce base in Jodhpur, the State of Rajastan. He and his delegation watched Indian flyers demonstrating their top skills in aerobatics.

The Soviet defence minister visited the headquarters of a formation and an army unit and talked to men and officers.

In the town of Nasik, the State of Maharashtra, he inspected an aircraft factory of the "Hindustan Aeronautics" state aircraft company, a major manufacturer in India's defence industry, and met with workers and engineers.

On the same day the Soviet guest visited Goa where he was received by Vice-Admiral L. Ramdas, who is charge of the southern naval command.

Zaykov Meets Indian Ambassador, Discusses Ties

LD2609153688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Today Comrade Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, received Kaul, Indian ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request. During the conversation, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, note was made with satisfaction of the fruitful development of Soviet-Indian relations and of contacts between the twin cities of Moscow and Delhi. The conviction was expressed that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to India will serve the cause of further developing and intensifying Soviet-Indian cooperation, exert a wholesome influence on the international situation, and impart new impetus to the positive processes in the world.

U.S., Pakistan Reject Meeting on Afghanistan

LD2709164388 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

Phyllis Oakley, official spokeswoman for the U.S. Department of State, has rejected the proposal about a meeting of the foreign ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union, Pakistan, and Afghanistan with the participation of the U.N. secretary-general to deal with problems concerning the implementation of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

The current Afghan situation could be considered, some results of the settlement process since the Geneva accords entered into force could be summed up, and causes of the departure by individual parties to the accords from the letter and spirit of the signed documents could be identified at such a meeting.

Herein apparently are the causes of Washington's and Islamabad's renunciation of a meeting suggested by Moscow and Kabul: The United States and Pakistan do not want to discuss these issues and facts which testify to violations of the Geneva accords by them.

Mrs Oakley stated that the administration 'sees no need' to have such a meeting. Washington's stand remains virtually the same: to go ahead with supporting the efforts of the Afghan resistance.

Special U.S. envoy Edmond McWillians, a career diplomat, was sent to Pakistan precisely for the purpose of increasing such support for Afghan armed opposition that has entrenched itself in Pakistan. He will maintain close contacts with the leaders of the Afghan mujahidin and the 'Alliance of Seven' in Peshawar, Quetta, near the borders with Afghanistan. THE NEW YORK TIMES has reported that the U.S. diplomat is expected to give recommendations to the Afghan rebels as they step up their political and military fight with a view to replacing the government in Kabul.

What kind of recommendations? Apparently, how to use most effectively the American weapons that are supplied to the military formations of the 'intransigent opposition,' how and what missiles should be fired on residential areas of Afghan cities and villages, and how to destroy civilian planes in Afghan skies by U.S. Stinger missiles. There are, of course, many other similar spheres of activity in which the U.S. envoy probably intends to give his "recommendations".

But such activities are a direct and flagrant breach of the Geneva accords which were signed by Washington just as by Islamabad which allows an "interim government", the "Alliance of Seven", and the mujahidin training centres to stay on Pakistani territory, and which even sends its officers to Afghanistan for direct participation in combat actions against Afghan authorities.

Such a situation cannot but arouse concern both in Kabul and Moscow and among all patriotically-minded Afghans who strive for the establishment of peace and tranquility on their long-suffering land. It would be more than advisable to consider this situation at a quadripartite meeting.

Foreign Advisers' Aid to Afghan Rebels Viewed

PM2809142988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Okulov report: "Foreign Advisers Operating in Bandit Groups on Afghan Territory Are Acting as Instigators"]

[Text] Kabul—Foreign military advisers' participation in the struggle against state power in the Republic of Afghanistan is a reality of the years-long war against this sovereign country. Hundreds of instructors have trained and are training fighters at numerous bases and counterrevolutionary training camps, which are still located in Pakistani border regions. Military advisers infiltrate Afghan territory as part of bandit formations and take a direct part in the opposition's combat operations against government troops.

According to data from competent Afghan organs, in recent months this participation has noticeably intensified. Here is the chronicle of the last few weeks alone compiled by competent organs of the Republic of Afghanistan:

Two FRG military advisers arrived in Parvan Province's Dekhmavi-Farza [name as published] region 14 September. They are helping plan rebel combat operations.

Two foreign military advisers arrived 15 September in Seyyed Karam District, Paktia Province, to organize attacks on guard posts and bombardments of the district and also the provincial center—the city of Gardeyz...

Early in September French, Arab, Chinese, U.S., and Pakistani advisers appeared in Lowgar Province. Near the city of Pole-e 'Alam they reconnoitred posts in the security zone and checked the rebel positions from which Afghan territory is being bombarded.

The purpose of the hirelings' "activity" in the undeclared war is not only inspection. The foreign advisers act as instigators urging the "irreconcilable" detachments, which have grown tired of bloody brigandage, to continue the struggle. For instance, two Egyptian advisers in the green zone around Charikar (Parvan Province) are engaged in this. They are trying to activate the combat operations of "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" bandit groups here. The task of four advisers of Arab origin who arrived recently in Herat Province is to reconcile warring rebel groupings in Khuk-e Koshte District. Foreign advisers based in the village of Novini [name as published] in this province direct combat operations by "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" detachments. An American adviser in Shakvalidukan [name as published] region and also a group of foreign "specialists" of unknown nationality in the region to the northeast of Jabal os Saraj have been performing similar tasks since 18 September.

The armed opposition is now intensively constructing base facilities and arsenals on Afghan territory, delivering arms and munitions from Pakistan. Engineering and demolition specialists from Western and Arab countries are actively helping the bandit formations.

The two Arab instructors who arrived in Bagram District, Parvan Province, have complex functions: They inspect detachments of rebels from the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" and carry out subversive propaganda work. But their main task is to hold classes for dushmans who operate mobile antiaircraft missile complexes. The course is supposed to end with practical work—launching a "Stinger" against an Afghan aircraft in the area around Bagram airport.

Foreign air warfare specialists are actively at work in Qandahar Province. A commission of advisers whose task is to ensure that gangs are supplied with "Stingers" has just arrived there.

As you can see, the range of duties for foreign military advisers in the service of the Afghan antigovernment forces is extremely varied—from directing combat operations to training assassins. They also organize provocative acts—for instance, Pakistani advisers helped the armed groups of M. Tur and M. Karim use toxins against the peaceful inhabitants of the settlement of Zarghun Shahr in Madaga [name as published] District. The number of dead reached 40. The gang ringleaders spread rumors that the toxins had been used by Soviet troops. Pakistani "advisers" photographed the dead. The provocateurs escaped by the skin of their teeth when the surviving inhabitans of the settlement and "Islamic Revolutionary Movement of Afghanistan" armed groups stationed in this area accused the gang of M. Tur and M. Karim of the crime and opposed them with weapon in hand.

The expansion of the participation of foreign advisers infiltrating from Pakistan in combating the Afghan state power is an alarming symptom and yet more evidence of the disregard for the Geneva accords shown by the Pakistani authorities and also by the other participants in the undeclared war against the Republic of Afghanistan.

PRAVDA Views Lebanese Election 'Impasse'

PM2809133988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Yuriy Glukhov "Viewpoint" article: "Lebanese Impasse"]

[Text] The country has been left without a president but with two governments—this is one more zigzag in the development of the dramatic events in Lebanon. The situation that has been created is characterized as an impasse situation close to the country's final split.

The term of office of Amin al-Jumayyil, who held the post of head of state, expired 23 September, and his successor has not been elected by parliament.

The election scheduled for 22 September simply did not take place. There was no quorum. Just as previously—18 August. The parliament building itself was fired on.

The emergency last-minute mediation efforts by Syria were also unable to find a way out of the crisis situation that has been created. A. al-Jumayyil paid an unplanned visit to Damascus on 21 September. A number of other leading Lebanese officials and statesmen were there too. And the day before U.S. Assistant Secretary of State R. Murphy had arrived in the Syrian capital to discuss the "Lebanese question."

The stumbling block is the candidacy of the next president. By tradition he can only be a Maronite Christian, just as the post of premier is reserved for a Sunni Muslim and that of president of the parliament for a Shi'ite Muslim. This very archaic system of state organization according to the so-called confessional (religious community) principle is a detonator of the explosive internal political situation in a country with approximately 20 communities. Naturally, stormy passions also seethe around specific persons—the candidates for a particular post.

A. al-Jumayyil's presidency has, unfortunately, been marked by a series of failures in the search for national reconciliation. The government of national concord set up by R. Karami in 1984 failed (in the end, he himself died, the victim of an assassin). Although it seemed that precisely that government had every chance of success. For Karami's cabinet included leaders of the country's leading military-political groupings. Where could they have resolved their problems, if not around a common table?

The tripartite Damascus agreement concluded with Syrian mediation between the leaders of the Shi'ite "Amal" movement, the Progressive Socialist Party, and the "Lebanese forces" at the end of 1985 was also wrecked. It provided for ways to normalize the situation. A putsch in the "Lebanese forces" derailed the Damascus accords.

The opportunities for stabilizing the situation in the country which were created after the introduction of Syrian peacekeeping troops into West Beirut in February 1987 were not utilized.

For more than 18 months the Lebanese state organism had been in a state of paralysis, as it were. The government was inactive. The president had only limited powers. Some of the ministers boycotted the president and cabinet sessions. Autonomous power was virtually established in various parts of the country. No wonder the miracle of reconciliation did not happen in the presidential election either, and the disagreements could not be overcome.

Toward the end of his rule A. al-Jumayyil appointed a transitional military government headed by Brigadier General M. 'Awn, commander of the country's armed forces. The leaders of the parties making up the national patriotic forces, including the Communist Party, called that step a military coup and urged a boycott of the transitional government. Following the Muslim community's instructions, three of the six members of the new cabinet refused to participate in its activity. At the same time, the government headed by S. al-Huss did not lay down its functions. Under conditions where individual parts of the country are under the control of particular military-political groupings, neither government possesses real power even within the bounds of its own zones of influence. At the same time, the "dyarchy" has intensified the polarization process in the country and the tendencies to split Lebanon.

The continuation of the present development of events would mean a catastrophe for Lebanon and incalculable suffering for the Lebanese. For the geographic and economic interlacing of the various communities is so close that dividing the country would mean severing ties between the destinies and lives of tens and hundreds of thousands of people. In this situation the Lebanese Communist Party has urged the creation of a movement for unity and liberation.

What is happening in Lebanon is largely the result of Israeli aggression and the continuing occupation of the south of the country and of gross imperialist interference. Everything has been done to shake and unsettle Lebanon's state mechanism. But I believe that the Lebanese themselves also bear a share of the responsibility. The civil war has been going on for more than 13 years, although it is clear that there can be no military solution to the Lebanese conflict. More than 100,000 people have already paid with their lives for the reluctance to find a common language. The tragedy of the Lebanese situation is that emotions gain the upper hand over common sense, and parochial interests over national ones, while the country's future is sacrificed to instant, narrow mercenary advantages.

The events in Lebanon arouse alarm and concern in Soviet people, who have always come out and now come out in defense of that country's unity, integrity, and independence.

Moroccan Parliamentarians Hold Talks in Moscow

PM2809143588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Sep 88 Morning Edition p5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] The peoples of the Soviet Union and Morocco are both striving for peace, disarmament, and cooperation on the basis of mutual respect and equality. This was noted on 27 September during a meeting between Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' standing commissions, and a delegation of the Moroccan Chamber of Representatives (parliament) led by its president, A. Osman.

The guests were informed in detail on the progress of the revolutionary transformations being made in the Soviet Union. They were particularly interested in our country's efforts to improve the economy and in the aims and tasks of the reform of the Soviet political system.

The parliamentarians were acquainted with the structure and activity of our country's supreme organ of state power. During the friendly conversation, the sides noted the great significance of broadening parliamentary contacts in order to improve mutual understanding and develop cooperation between the Soviet and Moroccan peoples.

USSR Supreme Soviet deputies Ye.V. Balakin, A.S. Ivanov, and Ye.I. Perventsev took part in the conversation, as well as M.M. Zentar, Moroccan ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Sub-Saharan Africa

'Joint Announcement' on Zimbabwe Deputies' Visit

PM2909103188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed "Joint Announcement on Stay in USSR by a Delegation of the Parliament of the Republic of Zimbabwe"]

[Text] A parliamentary delegation of the Republic of Zimbabwe headed by Nollan Makombe, president of the Senate, was in the Soviet Union from 6 through 13 September 1988 on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The delegation was received by A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Meetings and conversations took place with A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and with members of the chambers' standing commissions.

The Zimbabwean parliamentarians laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall.

Apart from Moscow, the guests visited Leningrad and the Moldavian SSR, where they familiarized themselves with the activity of the local organs of state power, and toured industrial and agricultural enterprises.

During the conversations which passed in a friendly atmosphere, information on the activity of the two countries' parliaments was exchanged, the state of bilateral Soviet-Zimbabwean relations was examined, and topical problems of the contemporary international situation were discussed.

The Zimbabwean parliamentarians were familiarized with the progress of restructuring in the USSR and with the work on implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and of the 19th all-union party conference, and they were briefed on the preparation of the reform of the USSR's political system and on the activity of the soviets of people's deputies under the new conditions.

The delegation's members observed that their country is following with great attention the changes taking place in the USSR and expressed support for the efforts of the Soviet people to implement in practice the course that has been taken toward renewing all spheres of social life, conducting a radical economic reform, and effecting the profound democratization of society under conditions of broad glasnost. They gave an account of the progress in implementing the decisions of the Second Congress of the ZANU-PF [Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front] party and the unification of the ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU [Patriotic Front—Zimbabwe African People's Union] parties, and of the activity of the parliament in surmountiung the socioeconomic problems facing the country.

The Soviet and Zimbabwean parliamentarians exchanged opinions on questions of bilateral relations and also on international problems. During the discussion of bilateral relations, their friendly nature, the steadiness of their development, and their good prospects were noted with satisfaction, and the need to broaden the range of ties to take in the sphere of trading and economic activity was stressed.

The Soviet and Zimbabwean deputies expressed readiness to continue to develop links at parliamentary level, regarding them as an important element of Soviet-Zimbabwean cooperation.

An exchange of views took place on international problems in which the similarity of both sides' stances and assessments was noted. On disarmament issues the sides emphasized the need to prevent the spread of the arms race into space, and to put into practice the idea of an all-embracing system of international peace and security.

The Zimbabwean parliamentarians expressed satisfaction at the Soviet Union's efforts to build confidence among peoples and countries of the world on the basis of the new political thinking, and its efforts to improve Soviet-American relations. The Zimbabweans noted that the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meetings in Washington and Moscow and the entry into force of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles are of exceptional importance for the improvement of the international situation. They also spoke out in favor of the necessity for continuing efforts to achieve an agreement on a 50-percent reduction of the USSR's and United States' strategic offensive arms under conditions of the preservation of the ABM Treaty. Here it was emphasized that the struggle for disarmament requires the galvanization of efforts by all countries, great and small, and by their parliamentarians. It was noted that real progress along the road of disarmament will make it possible to free large sums of money for development purposes which will also benefit the developing countries.

The Soviet and Zimbabwean parliamentarians also stated the coincidence of their views on the existing regional seats of tension, and expressed themselves in favor of the need for a just settlement of conflicts.

The sides expressed serious concern at the persisting acute conflict situation in the south of Africa which is having a negative impact on the international situation as a whole. They declared that peace and security in the south of Africa can be ensured only after the destruction of the shameful system of apartheid in the RSA. In this connection they confirmed their solidarity with the national liberation movements and organizations of

Namibia and the south of Africa in their struggle for the elimination of racism and apartheid and for the immediate granting of independence to Namibia. At the same time, it was noted that the negotiations currently being conducted between Angola, Cuba, and the RSA can become an important stage in the matter of a comprehensive settlement of the southern African region's problems which also includes the granting of independence to Namibia on the basis of UN resolutions, and, above all, UN Security Council Resolution 435.

The Soviet side restated the invariability of its line toward the Soviet Union's rendering of assistance and support to the Frontline States in their efforts to ensure their national security and economic independence, and to develop regional cooperation.

The sides also examined the situation in other explosive regions of the world. They stressed the need to resolve problems by political means using the UN mechanism and the efforts of the Nonaligned Movement. The important significance of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan and of the steps which the Soviet Union has taken to implement them was particularly noted. The sides called on all other parties to the agreements to strictly implement the obligations they have undertaken.

The important role of the Nonaligned Movement in contemporary international life and the major contribution Zimbabwe is making to the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace as chairman of movement were emphasized during the conversations.

Somalian Premier Seeks Better Ties With USSR

PM2809154988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent G. Ustinov report: "Warm Wind in the Horn of Africa" under rubric "Letter From Somalia"]

[Excerpts] Mogadishu, Addis Ababa—[Passage omitted] In 1977 Somalia began a war with neighboring Ethiopia, laying claim to the thinly populated, semi-desert Ogaden region, where the Somali Ogaden tribe has lived for centuries. Almost at the same time it sharply curtailed all relations with the Soviet Union. All our people, journalists included, had to leave the country as quickly as possible. Only a skeleton Soviet Embassy staff remained in Mogadishu. [passage omitted]

A sharp brake has been put on social development. Even in the capital. Mahmud Guled, deputy mayor of Mogadishu, complained to us that the city still does not have proper utilities. The municipality rejected the general plan drafted by foreign firms. It could not afford it. In Mogadishu, 200,000 of its 1.5 million inhabitants are unemployed.

Having broken off relations with socialist countries and many African, Arab, and nonaligned countries, Somalia expanded its ties with the United States, which uses local military installations for its own needs under a special agreement. But the financial compensation for these privileges has proved to be less than the Somali Government had hoped for. What is more, the agreement expires in 1990 and the two countries have different views on whether it is worth extending it.

This spring the Somali authorities decided to take the only sensible step possible in the situation at the time: To end the prolonged and absolutely futile war. A general peace accord was reached during the March meeting in Djibouti between Somali President Siad Barre and Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam. A bilateral agreement was signed on 4 April. And in May, exactly on schedule, troops withdrew on both sides of the border. A broad demilitarized zone has been formed. Minefields have been cleared and the exchange of prisoners of war has begun.

The warmer political climate in the Horn of Africa gives rise to hopes of a revival of good Somali-Soviet relations. This was talked about by everyone we met in Somalia: The editors of the capital's newspapers, cultural figures, heads of ministries, representatives of business circles, or just ordinary people. "The USSR is a great power, and its present role in the world is particularly important," Abdullahi Ali Warsame, head of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) Central Committee International Department, stressed in a long, frank conversation. "We are closely following restructuring and the processes of democratization in your society. Although the paradox is this—not through 'primary sources' but from reports in the Western press. We must more rapidly resume political, economic, and cultural contacts. And party contacts too, of course."

An even longer meeting followed, with Somali Prime Minister Mohamed Ali Samantar. We arrived with an interpreter, but his services were not really needed. Samantar graduated from a Soviet VUZ and we could sense the pleasure it gave him to switch to speaking Russian.

Our interlocutor told us about the problems facing Somalia and the difficulties of solving them. To a large extent they are problems common to all of Africa. Exports are undeveloped and there is a strong need to import. The main "export" sector is livestock. But competition on the world market is strong. African countries find it hard to compete with such major meat suppliers as Australia and New Zealand. Arable farmers could back up the export sector. The country grows virtually virtually everything: bananas, papaya, coconuts, mangos, citrus fruits. But fertilizers and equipment are needed and the country lacks the hard currency to buy them.

Now, after the restoration of peace with Ethiopia, Samantar continued, we should be able to get down to really improving the economy. But new problems have arisen. Detachments of the so-called "Somali National

Movement" (SNM) began an armed rebellion in northern Somalia in May this year. The SNM headquarters are in London and the president of the "movement" is Akhmed Bilanyo [name as published], who for a long time held the post of minister of trade and planning under the Barre government.

Under pressure from government troops, the sting has now been taken out of operations conducted by the SNM, which wants to see the formation of an independent state, "Northern Somalia." But the detachments of this "movement" have nevertheless managed to do a great deal. The city of Burao, a strategic crossroads in the north of the country, has been virtually wiped off the face of the earth. In Hargeisa, Somalia's second largest city, as much as 80 percent of the buildings have been damaged during the fighting.

"We are getting the better of the rebels, of course," Samantar said, "but you can imagine the additional difficulties our country is having to overcome...."

At the end of his conversation with Soviet journalists, the prime minister drew particular attention to the positive changes in relations between our countries and the renewed exchange of delegations. "But this is only the beginning, of course. If we look back to the seventies, we will see that the level of our relations was very high. We would like to return to that level. We are very grateful to the Soviet Union for everything it has done for us in the past. History must not be forgotten and good actions must not be ignored."

Chadian Information Minister Interviewed

PM2809130988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Report on interview with Chadian Information Minister Adoum Moussa Seif by TASS correspondent S. Kondakov: "Our Goals; Talk With Chadian Information Minister"]

[Text] Ouagadougou, 26 Sep—The foreign policy of Chad, which belongs to the Nonaligned Movement, is closely linked with national realities and domestic problems, stated Adoum Moussa Seif, the country's minister of information and civic orientation and deputy commissioner for external relations of the National Union for Independence and Revolution. This policy's specific feature is that Chad, encountering the problem of survival, has been obliged to defend its place as an independent state among other countries, he said in an interview with a TASS correspondent.

The priority avenue of our policy is the development and maintenance of good relations with neighboring countries, the minister stressed. This approach is dictated by the geographical position of Chad, which is a poor state remote from the ocean seaboard. We have always sought to maintain good relations with Nigeria, Cameroon, and Niger, with which we share Lake Chad, with the Central African Republic, with Sudan, and other countries. We are trying to establish normal relations with Libya.

All African problems rank second in the country's foreign policy. Chad is in solidarity with the peoples struggling for independence and against racism, supports the "Frontline" States which oppose the RSA, and advocates Namibia's independence. On the other hand, we are seeking to find support among the independent states, because for 20 years Chad has been waging a war that has totally destroyed it. That is why our policy is oriented toward the African countries which, within the framework of the OAU, can help to settle the conflict with Libya.

Relations with the great powers rank third. We cooperate with France—the former mother country that continues to render aid to Chad and to many other countries. Some ties exist with the United States. But our country is not these states' natural ally. We would sincerely like to have good relations with the USSR and have always sought ways to establish them. Our friendship has traditions, after all many Chadian specialists have been trained in the USSR and indeed our compatriots are studying there now. We want a USSR Embassy to open as soon as possible in Ndjamena and bilateral scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation to be resumed. The USSR has accumulated rich experience of interest to us. It is the USSR which stands at the sources of the liberation of the peoples, at the sources of all the great principles which guide our actions today and which have become the determining ones in the activity of the United Nations, the OAU, and the Nonaligned Movement. We believe that the USSR and the principles it defends will be very useful in Chad.

Chad is following with great understanding everything that has been happening in the USSR in recent years. The changes that have begun there are of extraordinarily important significance. Socialism is not confrontation, not war, not aggression, still less the infringement of human rights. The present approach to matters in the USSR is a very modern vision of the world, it is a vision of the future. The underlying changes taking place in the USSR and the new thinking will have great influence on the entire complex of international relations.

Positive advances have now been outlined in the world and the process of the reassessment of values has begun between the USSR and the United States after 30 years of confrontation. It is indeed better to assert the new political thinking and the concept of agreements and to make the guns fall silent. A new era is opening up in international relations. We approve the solution that has been outlined to the Afghan problem, the positive changes in Cambodia, and the improvement of relations between Moscow and Beijing. The moment has now come to also examine the Chad problem from a different angle. This will be in the interests of the developing states and of all mankind. Both Chadians and Libyans will be making an unforgivable mistake if they fail to draw lessons from the climate of concord and understanding that is being established in order to resolve the problems existing between them.

Commentary Views South African Diplomatic Push

MB2809103588 Moscow in Afrikaans to Southern Africa 1745 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Aleksandr Fedorov commentary]

[Text] The last few weeks of South African political life were sensational. There has been much comment on South Africa's participation in the Brazzaville talks and that country backed up its pledge with action by withdrawing its troops from Angola. The discussions on Namibian independence and the South African commitment to the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 continues and the state president meets the presidents of neighboring Mozambique and Malawi.

Even if President Botha visited all his allies in the West, the reaction would not have been as great as it is now. It is logical; the doors between South Africa and its neighboring states had not only been closed, but barricaded.

President Pieter Botha met Joaquim Chissano, and there was neither earthquake nor deluge. The talks were devoted to the implementation of the Nkomati Accord. The accord, concluded in 1984, had up to now only existed on paper, because South Africa, in disregard of its undertakings, continued its support for Renamo. Time has shown how nearsighted this policy had been. The [word indistinct] power station, which was supposed to supply Mozambique as well as South Africa with energy, did not function. This was prevented by Renamo. And who benefitted from this? Maybe this question was not asked during the meeting between State President Pieter Botha and Joaquim Chissano, but it must have been in the air. Mozambique, constantly plagued by economic sabotage and terrorist actions against its population, did not change course as South Africa had hoped. As for South Africa, it too could have used the money lost in Cahora Bassa for its own domestic needs. The cessation of support to Renamo and resumption of the operation of the hydropower station are in the interests of both Mozambique and South Africa. The truth is obvious, but unfortunately it took a long time to be understood.

On the other hand, one wonders how clear this truth is. There is an unprecedented attack on the president inside South Africa. Taking part are both the so-called enlightened wing of the National Party as well as the conservatives, led by Andries Treurnicht, who renounced the diplomatic steps of the state president, asserting that South Africa was the loser after the meetings with the presidents of Mozambique and Malawi. It seems clear that this reaction is more likely to have been caused by dissatisfaction with the methods of Pieter Botha's management. His negotiations led to the start of a campaign for the sacking of the president.

All South Africans, writes the influential SUNDAY TIMES, long for reliable government that could bring hope, a just and effective management and a healthy economy. Hegel said each nation deserves the leader it has. Who is to be the president is for South Africans themselves to decide; but one thing is clear, the president cannot give hope and promise justice without taking steps to settle both external and internal problems.

One has to start somewhere, and probably President Pieter Botha has decided to start by reviewing relations with the neighbors. He was prompted by time and circumstances and sooner or later circumstances will also force him to tackle the internal problems in South Africa. But the sooner the better, as was proven by the Nkomati Accord.

SWAPO's Nujoma on Quadripartite Talks

MB2809122788 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1830 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Our correspondent Boris Asoyan has met with SWAPO's president, Sam Nujoma, and asked him for a statement on the talks aimed at resolving the problems of the people of Namibia.

[Begin Nujoma recording in English fading into Zulu translation] The quadripartite talks on Namibia involving government delegations from Angola, Cuba, the United States, and South Africa, from the first meeting on 3 and 4 March 1988 in London, had indications of success, and further meetings were held in [word indistinct] New York, the Cape Verde Islands [words indistinct] important agreements. The Government of South Africa accepted UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia's independence. We trust that the Brazzaville talks will also prove successful. We (?hope) that the matter concerning Namibian independence, as found in UN Resolution 435, will again be handed over to the UN secretary general who has the power to [words indistinct]. We look to the future with hope and trust that this matter will be resolved peacefully, and that Namibia will attain its freedom from the South African regime, and that there will be a change [words indistinct] in the times we live in.

Recently, an agreement was signed between the CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. This has [words indistinct] nuclear war, and [words indistinct] foster the peaceful resolution of the problems facing the world, including the problems facing the peoples of Central America, Namibia, and Angola. Although many problems must still be overcome, we believe in the final analysis regional conflicts will be resolved to the satisfaction of all concerned.

SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization], for its part, although it is not represented in the ongoing talks, [words indistinct] the aims of the Cuban and Angolan delegations. SWAPO supports President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who is chairman of the Angolan party of labor [words indistinct] independence of Namibia according to UN Resolution 435. [end recording]

East Europe

GDR's Honecker Continues Visit to Moscow

ADN Describes Arrival

LD2709182088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1642 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, 27 Sep (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council Chairman, was fraternally received in the Soviet capital this evening. He was responding to an invitation from the CPSU Central Committee for a 3-day working visit. On his arrival at Vnukovo Airport, Erich Honecker and his entourage were cordially welcomed by Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other Soviet personalities.

Erich Honecker is accompanied on his visit by Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the State Council; Oskar Fischer, member of the SED Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs; Gerhard Beil, foreign trade minister; Frank-Joachim Herrmann, state secretary and head of the Chancery of the State Council chairman; and Gerd Koenig, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in the USSR.

The GDR and USSR state flags were waving at Vnukovo Airport when the special Interflug aircraft arrived. At the gangway Erich Honecker and his entourage were welcomed by Nikolay Slynukov together with Vadim Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Zakash Kamalidenov, deputy chairman opf the Supreme Soviet Presidium; and by Rafael Fedorov, deputy head of a department in the CPSU Central Committee. Diplomats and members of staff from the GDR Embassy also offered their welcome. Thaelamnn Pioneers welcomed Erich Honecker with a bouquet of flowers. [passage omitted]

Honecker Visits Mausoleum

LD2809120988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] GDR leader Erich Honecker is on a working visit in our country, as we have already reported. Today he visited the Vladimir Ilich Lenin mausoleum and laid a wreath. The guest honored with 1 minute's silence the memory of the founder of the CPSU and of the world's first socialist state.

Erich Honecker also laid a wreath at the Unknown Soldier's Tomb at the Kremlin Wall.

Comrade Medvedev and other officials accompanied the GDR leader.

Gorbachev, Honecker Tour Exhibition

LD2809230588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by A. Zholkver]

[Text] [Zholkver] A very large foreign exhibition belonging to the German Democratic Republic has been open at one of the largest pavilions at the USSR Main Committee for Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy in Moscow for 10 days now. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Erich Honecker acquainted themselves with the exhibition today. [video shows arrival of Gorbachev at pavilion; received by Honecker; the two shake hands to the sound of applause; Gorbachev accepts bouquet]

The exhibition was also visited by Comrades Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Solomentsev, Chebrikov, Yakovlev, Dolgikh, Maslyukov, Talyzin, Baklanov, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukyanov, Medvedev, and Kapitonov. With them were Comrades Mittag, Fischer and other officials accompanying Erich Honecker on his current working visit to the USSR. [video shows these figures gathered in group]

Greeting the honored guest, Comrade Beil, the GDR minister for foreign trade, noted that the main aim of the exhibition is to reflect the close unity and wide-ranging economic links between the GDR and the Soviet Union. The exhibition has already been visited by 170,000 people.

One of the main themes of the whole exhibition is the widespread application of microelectronics in the most various branches of the GDR national economy. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev acquainted himself in detail with the output of the world renowned Zeiss works. One of the latest innovations is a microcircuit consisting of 2 million elements. This is a basis for highly productive and, at the same time, miniature computers. [video shows Beil addressing group of visitors; group headed by Gorbachev and Honecker touring exhibition, stopping at a stand where Gorbachev looks through eyepieces, presumably to inspect microcircuit]

[Begin Gorbachev recording] That's good. I think that the appearance [word indistinct] in your country and our testifies to the fact that progress is taking place at a very good pace. [end recording]

[Zholkver] One of the leading enterprises of the GDR electronics industry is the robotron combine. Its programming units are installed in many machine tools and automated systems produced in the GDR and supplied to our country. [video shows Gorbachev, Honecker and others inspecting automatic equipment]

And schoolbooks for Soviet schoolchildren are printed on the printing machines with which Mikhail Sergeyevich acquainted himself.

Comrade Gorbachev devoted great attention to the GDR's production of machinery for the light and foodstuffs industries. [video shows machinery producing textiles, rails of finished garments, closeup of Biryukova, milk processing machinery]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Have you worked out with our comrades the plan agreed upon with Comrade Honecker on the modernization of several hundred enterprises of the foodstuffs industry or are the discussions continuing?

[Unidentified GDR official] Comrade General Secretary, we are now at the stage of discussions. Direct links have been established, but we have not yet utilized all the opportunities which we have.

[Gorbachev] (?There are) direct links but there has been no work. We have allocated for the reconstruction of the light and foodstuffs industries—for (?food processing) alone—R79 billion—[words indistinct] the whole defense industry [words indistinct]. [end recording]

[Zholkver] On an open square there is a large exhibition of agricultural machinery produced in the GDR. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was particularly interested in new models of potato-lifting and grain combines.

[Begin recording] [GDR official] Twice as productive compared with previous models. As far as feed harvesters as such are concerned, we have already sent to the Soviet Union 45,000 sets of feed harvesting equipment.

[Gorbachev] This machine occupies first place in the Soviet Union in evaluation. It has been ahead of them all over the course of many years, ahead of all the equipment from other countries.

[Unidentified official] Minister [words indistinct] Comrade Yezhevskiy is currently working on this question. [end recording]

[Zholkver] A special section of the exhibition is devoted to problems of people's education and health care, culture and lifestyle. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev conversed with youths from the Union of Free German Youth and was interested in the organization of computer training in GDR schools. [video shows Gorbachev meeting FDJ members]

The inspection of the exhibition ended with a showing of the latest works by GDR fashion designers. [video shows fashion parade, Gorbachev, Honecker and delegations in audience, who applaud]

ADN on Exhibition

LD2809114088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0917 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, 28 Sep (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the GDR exhibition in Moscow on Wednesday morning. Accompanied by other public figures of the two countries' party and state leaderships, they went around the largest GDR's exhibition abroad to date. The exhibition was opened on 16 September in the grounds of the industrial fair by Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil, who welcomed the two general secretaries of the tour. [passage ommited]

At the end of the more than 2-hour tour of the pavilion and exhibition grounds, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said he was impressed by the top products and modern technologies on show from the GDR. Mikhail Gorbachev asked that his high regard and appreciation for the achievements displayed in Moscow be conveyed to the scientists, technologists, engineers, and workers of the exhibiting combines, enterprises, and scientific establishments.

Taking part in the tour with Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev were Andrey Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov; and other members of the party and state leadership. After their tour of the GDR exhibition in Moscow, Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev proceeded to the headquarters of the CPSU Central Committee for a talk.

Gorbachev Impressions on Tour

LD2809163988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1427 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 28 Sep (ADN)—Asked by the special correspondents from ADN and NEUES DEUTSCHLAND about his impressions of the exhibition, Mikhail Gorbachev said after the tour: "This is not the first time I have been to a GDR exhibition. I know about many of them and can compare them. I would describe this exhibition as one that sets standards and provides a broad picture of the present-day achievements of the republic.

"I have a very high regard for what is being shown at this exhibition. What emerges here above all are ideas for breaking new ground more quickly—that is scientific-technical progress, in the first instance in engineering, and ways of transferring it to all branches of the economy. This is well-documented.

"I am surprised by the talents of those who have organized this exhibition. But if there is something to be exhibited then the right talents for this can be found. The exhibition reflects the great changes that have taken place. It is an exhibition in the runup to the GDR's anniversary. It is to some degree a balance sheet of the socialist workers' and peasants' state on German soil. I would like to warmly congratulate everyone on these great achievements and successes, Comrade Honecker, all those present and of course the people, our brothers and friends in the GDR.

"The following must be particularly stressed: All sectors of the exhibition demonstrate the close cooperation between our two states, our peoples, the working class, our science, and the whole sphere of management. I welcome that very much. Although Comrade Honecker and I already discussed a number of questions during the tour, we will discuss in more depth how we can work even better together in the future. This is very important. Our cooperation today covers all spheres: the political, economic, international, and ideological. That is a great advance, and again a joint one.

"Let us continue to work together well. Let us deepen cooperation even more. There is great scope for this. I believe that the will for this exists in the leadership both of the USSR and the GDR. We are working to ensure that this cooperation assumes new forms and breaks new ground, however complicated this may be. This does not cause panic among Communists or make them sit back and take it easy. On the contrary: The more ambitious the aims, the more interesting it is. Let us work toward this."

Gorbachev, Honecker Meet

PM2909110188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[Untitled TASS report under general heading: "Friendly Meetings and Talks"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met 28 September with E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, who is in the Soviet Union on a working visit.

At the beginning of the conversation the leaders of the two fraternal parties exchanged impressions on their visit to the "GDR in Moscow" Exhibition. The articles on display there give a vivid impression of the current state of and prospects for the development of GDR industry and of the cooperation between our two countries. Exhibitions of this kind are extremely useful in order to acquaint the public more broadly with one another's experience and achievements.

E. Honecker briefed M.S. Gorbachev in detail on the situation in the GDR and on the questions now being resolved by the republic's Communists and working people. The course of the 11th SED Congress of ensuring the unity of social and economic policy is being successfully implemented. Party organizations are holding report and election meetings, at which the state of affairs is being vigorously discussed, shortcomings uncovered, and ways to improve work outlined. The republic shows constant great interest in the development of the restructuring process in the Soviet Union. My comrades and I, E. Honecker said, are in no doubt that restructuring in the USSR is a historical necessity. We are convinced that it will blaze a trail for itself and justify the hopes that the CPSU and the Soviet people are pinning on it.

M.S. Gorbachev thanked him for this expression of solidarity and pointed out that the course adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress and developed by a number of Central Committee plenums and particularly by the 19th all-union party conference is vitally necessary for our country. The more we deepen our analysis of all spheres in the life of Soviet society and its development in recent years, the more we reach the conclusion that our choice is a correct one.

A report and election campaign is also under way in our party now: It is gratifying that the spirit of the conference has moved into the primary organizations and that the party masses have gotten moving. One cannot fail to note that the broad masses of working people are entering into the country's political life with increasing vigor and assuming responsibility for resolving the practical questions of restructuring. Our people have sufficient skill, strength, and talent to boost their country to a new level and impart a new quality to our socialist society.

M.S. Gorbachev and E. Honecker assessed highly the overall state of USSR-GDR relations and once again confirmed that the friendship and cooperation between our countries remain an unshakable principle of the two fraternal parties' policy. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 2022 GMT on 28 September carries a report on the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker, adding the following: "Taking part in the talks were: on the Soviet side A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, aide to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary; R.P. Fedorov, deputy chief of CPSU Central Committee department; I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; and on the GDR side O. Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs; G. Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade; F.-J. Hermann, chief of chancery of the chairman of the GDR Council of State; G. Ehrensperger, director of an SED Central Committee department; B. Mahlow, deputy director of an SED Central Committee department; and G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR."]

ADN Reports on Talks

LD2909125188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1956 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 28 Sep (ADN)—Following the joint visit to the GDR exhibition in Moscow today, there was a friendly meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

During the meeting the two general secretaries exchanged information on socialist construction in the GDR and the Soviet Union. Great attention was paid to questions of bilateral cooperation and problems of international developments.

Mikhail Gorbachev said that the reorganization in progress in the Soviet Union have the broad support of the party and the people. The policy of renewal of society elaborated by the CPSU is based on important decisions of principle with regard to the main directions of this process. Today, the implementation of the results of the 19th all-union party conference, which has become an important milestone on the road to the practical realization of the decisions of the 27th party congress, constitute the core of the activity of the party, state, and social organizations.

The success of renewal and the irreversible nature of reorganization depend in the final analysis on the concrete contribution of every party organization and every work team. In this connection, Mikhail Gorbachev dealt with questions of the further democratization of Soviet society, the implementation of reforms of the political system, and economic changes, which, he said, were decisive for the acceleration of social development.

Erich Honecker spoke about the work of the SED and the people of the GDR to fulfill the decisions of the 11th party congress and the new tasks of the current 5-year plan. The working people of the GDR will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the GDR with important successes in the further shaping of the developed socialist society and in the realization of the course of the unity of economic and social policy.

Supported by the creative initiatives of the masses, the SED aims to solve the new problems arising from the present stage of social development. In the GDR the changes taking place in the USSR are being followed with unabated attention. The Communists and working people of the republic were demonstrating solidarity and support for the reorganization and wish their Soviet friends success in its realization.

Mikhail Gorbachev said he was very impressed with the GDR exhibition in Moscow and stressed that it is aimed at scientific-technical progress and is thus future-oriented. He described the exhibition as an important event in relations between the USSR and the GDR which also testify to the rich possibilities of mutually advantageous cooperation between the two states in various areas of industry, technology, and production.

During the talk, both sides stressed the determination to further deepen relations between the SED and the CPSU for the benefit and for the well-being of the peoples of both countries. There was an exchange of views on ways of achieving more intensive joint utilization of the scientific, technical, and production potential of the two countries.

Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev spoke in favor of the comprehensive development of meetings between GDR and USSR citizens. The activation of such relations at local government level and partnerships between GDR Bezirks [areas], and republics and regions of the USSR is desirable.

A wide circle of international problems and the world situation were also discussed in the talk. Erich Honecker expressed support for the USSR's new proposals and initiatives put forth in Warsaw on 11 July and in Krasnoyarsk on 16 September 1988.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee expressed high regard for the GDR foreign policy, which is full of initiative and corresponds to the coordinated line of the Warsaw Pact states on the issues of peace and disarmament, detente, and the initiation of mutually advantageous East-West cooperation.

It was declared that the Soviet Union and the GDR support the process of improvement in the international situation and in disarmament with every determination and in a constructive spirit, whereby they are striving for the creation of a world free from nuclear weapons and violence. It is important to continue the policies of dialogue with all the Western powers based on positions of reason and peace, in the interests of saving humanity from a nuclear inferno, and establishing relations of mutual understanding, good-neighborliness, and cooperation.

Concerning the creation of a common European house, Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the world would only be preserved for its inhabitants if the present territorial-political realities in Europe remain unshakeable, and if the social choice that the people of Europe—including the peoples of the GDR and of the FRG—have made is unconditionally accepted.

Concerning other problems, including regional ones, in international relations, the common ground of the GDR and USSR position on all the questions touched upon was further confirmed.

The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of complete harmony, sincerity, friendship, openness, and mutual understanding.

At the beginning of the meeting, Erich Honecker presented Mikhail Gorbachev with a GDR-produced 1-megabit memory circuit, which can also be seen in the GDR exhibition in Moscow.

Participants in the meeting were, on the GDR side: Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer; Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil; Frank-Joachim Herrmann, chief of the Chancery of the GDR State Council chairman; Guenter Ehrensperger, director of a SED Central Committee department; Gerd Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR; and Bruno Mahlow, deputy director of an SED Central Committee deparment.

On the Soviet side participating were: Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Vadim Medvedev, secretary of CPSU Central Committee; Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations; Georgiy Shakhnazarov, adviser to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Rafael Fedorov, deputy director of a CPSU Central Committee department; and Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboimov.

Gorbachev Dinner Speech

PM2909102188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium gave a dinner at the Grand Kremlin Palace today for Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made a speech at the dinner. He said:

Dear comrades,

I wholeheartedly greet Comrade Honecker and the German friends who have arrived with him. This working visit by Comrade Honecker to the Soviet Union has been directly connected to the "GDR in Moscow" exhibition. We toured it this morning and the impression is quite favorable.

The top-class, high-standard technical products, newest equipment, and household appliances there indicate the great potential of industry and science in the GDR and demonstrate how much is being done there to keep pace with progress and supply diverse popular needs more fully.

Next year will mark the 40th anniversary of the German socialist state. We are glad that the GDR is approaching the jubilee with major achievements in every sphere of public life and that socialism has settled down solidly and irreversibly on German soil.

The exhibition we saw is keynoted by yet another theme. It is one of cooperation, mutual assistance, and friendship with the Soviet Union, which have played the decisive role in the development of the GDR and have for decades been helping both our peoples to deal with important problems of our advancement and serving as a factor for stability and peace in Europe.

Taking advantage of this new meeting with Comrade Honecker, I would like to reaffirm that it has been and remains an invariable guideline for our policy to strengthen and develop all-around fraternal relations with the GDR.

It is gratifying to note that this relationship is now becoming more mature. The elements of declarative rhetoric and formalism are receding into the past, while businesslike attitudes and a shared desire for practical results are gaining prominence. Our notions of each other have become more comprehensive and realistic as well.

Cooperative arrangements in science, technology, and production are acquiring special significance at this juncture in our cooperation. They are decisive in many ways to mastering progressive technology and increasing the dynamics of economic contacts and returns from them. Cooperative arrangements are, one can say, a symbol of the times; it is by their scope and thoroughness that they judge today how advanced the integration process is.

Some 2 years ago in Berlin we discussed these matters in detail. It was decided to expedite efforts to form direct ties between enterprises and scientific centers in the two countries in every way and encourage joint ventures where there are the prerequisite conditions for them.

Much has been done since then. By the joint efforts of scientists, specialists, and workers of both countries, the newest kinds of electronic production equipment, unique optical instruments, and new composite materials have been developed and productive research is under way into biotechnology and other key areas. Almost 150 agreements to form direct ties between factories and amalgamations have been signed and are being translated into reality.

But while expressing a positive view of the work that has been done, Comrade Honecker and I have arrived at the conclusion that its pace as yet has been far from matching the potential and requirements of the two countries. Cooperative projects have been held back by a number of outstanding legal problems, lack of incentives, and slow-moving managerial machinery.

It is essential that the management system and the entire atmosphere of economic activity prompt enterprises to pursue mutually beneficial specialized production and co-production schemes. We have agreed to direct theorists and practical workers to make efforts toward this goal, while demanding that they also show greater effort and apply new methods and levers for integration more boldly. We think it important for the same kind of work to be energetically done on a collective basis as well, within the CEMA framework.

Comrades, Soviet restructuring was mentioned more than once when we met today. For our friends—and I mean not only the German comrades—it is very important to know how the revolutionary process of updating Soviet society is getting along and know our plans for the immediate future.

And one can readily understand this avid interest in our affairs. For when we say that the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries have a common destiny, these are not empty words. There are thousands of filaments—political, economic, and ideological—that bind them together and major change in any of these countries tells on the position of its friends and allies in this way or another.

What is it that we emphasize in the first place when talking about restructuring and our immediate and long-term plans?

Restructuring is first of all a process aiming to fully realize the ideals and values of the October revolution. While analyzing the past sharply and uncomprisingly, the last thing we want is to downgrade anything really great in the history of our country, in the annals of Soviet socialism. It is vital to draw lessons from the past so as to rule out a repetition of mistakes connected with departures from Leninism.

Another matter of principle is that of the pace and scope of revolutionary work. We are sometimes asked: "Isn't the range of tasks we are seeking to tackle too broad? Wouldn't it be better and easier to move step by step, first coping with one problem and then with another?" What can be said to this? The country cannot be shaken out of stagnation by isolated, disjointed measures.

Any of the current burning problems underscores the necessity of radical change. It is needed in the party, in the state, in agriculture, in industry, in personnel policy, and most of all in people's mentality, in their attitudes to work, to one another, and to themselves.

Can we make successful headway on such a wide front? If we work in the old manner and bank solely on commands, directives, and paper-shuffling, then, of course, it is hard to count on success. It will be another matter if we are able to really activate the democratic potential of society. We will rely on the people's vital interest in improvement in their material and cultural life and on their patriotic resolve to raise the authority of their home country and the prestige of socialism in the world.

Making the people the real masters of the country is the thrust of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference, which has outlined a reform of the political system that we are about to begin implementing.

We do not conceal from our friends and from the rest of the world that there are many difficulties in restructuring and that transition to its practical realization has engendered no simple problems. Some of them have been foreseen by us, while others haven't. But on the whole, all this fits in with our ideas of the processes under way in the country. The most important thing is that we see that ever broader sections of working people are joining in the process of bettering and updating life. I had another occasion to see this once again during my recent trip to Krasnoyarsk Kray.

Soviet restructuring is claiming great attention all over the world. And we highly appreciate the numerous manifestations of solidarity on the part of our friends in socialist countries and many mass movements, political streams, and individuals.

One can hear, of course, hostile voices as well, the voices of those predicting that restructuring will fail or seeking to scare the West with claims that if we succeed, this will turn out badly for it. But we hope that both ordinary citizens and political figures will have enough common sense to realize that by updating our society, we're not harming anybody, while all the nations and peoples are benefiting from our new policy and new thinking on the world scene.

Comrade Honecker and I had a substantive exchange on international affairs. And it is only understandable that we paid prime attention to the situation in Europe. The realization of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles under way there is, no doubt, the weightiest result of the new political thinking so far. It is enough to compare the way people felt in the early eighties with their mood today to realize that before the eyes of the Europeans and of the entire world community transition is in progress from the phase of hope to the phase of action, to the first practical steps in the field of nuclear disarmament.

But we are far from being smugly complacent. There aren't yet guarantees that the positive processes under way are irreversible. This is why it is extremely important to keep up the momentum: after making a first step, to discuss a second and to ponder a third, to see the perspective.

If we look at the state of things from this standpoint, we can see that by the common efforts of European nations, the United States and Canada, groundwork has been laid for the future. We value every bit of experience coming from East and West and believe that it is this kind of material that the common European home is being built with.

Agreement is nearing in Vienna on a mandate for talks on the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces throughout Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals. On the whole, there are prerequisites for the Vienna accords to usher in a fundamentally new phase in the development of the wholesome process launched in Helsinki.

The reserves of European cooperation include a number of important proposals made by the ruling parties and Warsaw Pact member states either jointly or in cooperation with other political forces. I have in mind, in particular, the joint ideas of the SED, the CPCZ, and the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Constructive ideas, projects, and initiatives are creating prerequisites for change for the better in the international climate. What is needed is to consistently and persistently translate the good intentions into realities and we are fully aware that this is only possible if the interests and positions of all the countries are most carefully taken into account in dealing with international problems and if all the main public and political forces are involved in putting international relations right and ennobling them. This is one of the basic principles of the new thinking.

I want to stress with satisfaction that Comrade Honecker and I agreed on all the key problems of European and world development. We treasure this traditional unity with the GDR, one of the Soviet state's historical allies.

We cordially congratulate the Communists and working people of the GDR on the upcoming holiday and wish our German friends success in every undertaking started for the progress of their socialist fatherland. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 28 September carries a report on the Moscow dinner for Honecker, including an announcer-read report on Gorbachev's speech, adding the following: "Present at the dinner on the Soviet side were: Comrades Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Solomentsev, Chebrikov, Yakovlev, Dolgikh, Maslyukov, Talyzin, Baklanov, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukyanov, Medvedev, Kapitonov, and other officials."]

Honecker Toast at Dinner

PM2909102588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] The following is the full text of the toast by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at the official dinner hosted by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Dear Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev,

Dear Soviet comrades,

Allow me to again thank you warmly for the invitation to our meeting and the hospitality shown. The kind words you, dear Mikhail Sergeyevich, found for the work of the SED and the development of the GDR and for our fraternal alliance moved us deeply. They will be received by all members of our party and our working people with good feelings of friendship.

The results of the exchange of opinion today fill me and the comrades accompanying me with great satisfaction. We have after all, starting from the secure basis of that already achieved, worked out the further course in the shaping of our truly multifaceted and fruitful relations. Our joint determination was again affirmed to cooperate most closely, in the future as well, in socialist construction. With this completely in mind we are further developing the relations between our parties and states, we are directing our efforts to strengthening the socialist community, and the consolidation of peace and international security.

Wherever we look, what we share has its unshakeable part in the life of our peoples. Our parties and states are cooperating trustingly on all levels and are communicating their experiences to each other. Beneficial work contacts between collectives of the working people and between members of all strata and professions have long since become something natural. The people, above all the youth, are brought closer together through the use of the multifaceted tourist possibilities. All that has contributed to the development of countless personal friendships, of which we are justifiably proud.

Our economic cooperation has a unique extent. It is based on stable foundations, it is drawn up for the long term and is distinguished by high reliability.

For decades the USSR has been the GDR's most important foreign trade partner, just as our country takes first place among your foreign trade partners. We agree that this should remain so in the future. Thus, the highest yardsticks are set for further cooperation in this sphere.

Between our national economies, combines, enterprises, and associations there are manifold agreements forming a dense network of cooperation for our mutual advantage. At the same time, qualitatively new features are currently developing in our cooperation. It is of the greatest importance for the present and the future for this cooperation to be increasingly characterized by the broad application and economical utilization of high technology, especially modern microelectronics and computing technology. This is specifically reflected in the perspectives set out for scientific-technical and economic cooperation.

In this connection, I would like, dear Soviet comrades, to warmly thank you for the comradely support in holding the GDR exhibition in Moscow, which we visited together today. I link this with the conviction that the exhibition, which demonstrates the high level of the economy of our socialist state and also of our cooperation, will also provide the impetus for further expanding our fruitful cooperation in the economy, science, and technology.

Today we again unanimously spoke in favor of purposefully continuing the path we have embarked upon. The GDR sees the close fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union in the future, too, as the firm guarantee of its successful socialist development. The consolidation and deepening of our friendship and cooperation remain for us a fundamental concern and an internationalist obligation. This was also the belief of the chairman of the Communist Party of Germany and leader of the German proletariat, our never-to-be-forgotten Ernst Thaelmann.

Dear comrades, we are following with great interest and genuine feeling the creative efforts of the Soviet people to speed up, in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the socioeconomic development of the USSR, to raise the standard of living of the people and to strengthen socialism and make it more attractive.

We are most deeply convinced that the CPSU and the Soviet people will succeed, inspired by the tasks conceived at the 19th party conference, in showing off the merits and driving forces residing in socialism to their best advantage. That is of far-reaching significance, not only for the Soviet country itself, but also for the whole world, for enhancing the influence and attractiveness of socialism, for the effectiveness of its peace policy. For this reason the process of renewal in the USSR, which encompasses all social areas, finds our understanding and support. With all our heart we wish you, all Communists and working people of the Soviet Union, much success in fulfilling your great projects.

Having in mind the 40th anniversary of the founding of the first socialist state on German soil, the GDR working people are accomplishing new labor achievements in order to fashion further developed socialist society according to the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. Self-sacrificing industry and the creativity of several generations have enabled the GDR to become a stable socialist state. In it such social achievements and values as power from the people, freedom of personality, the right to work and education, democracy, and law are firmly anchored.

We will not forget that the GDR 's rise is at the same time the result of the constantly deepening friendship with the Soviet Union. With its all-around support we attacked the work of socialist construction, we are cooperating closely with the Soviet Union.

The correctness of the decisions that were made since the 8th SED Congress in 1971 is proving itself more than ever today. The indivisible unity of economic and social policy is at the base of our economic strategy. With its realization and far-reaching reforms, a constant rise in performance was able to be achieved in our national economy, and the merits of socialism for the well-being of human beings was shown to advantage even more effectively.

The mastery of the tasks for the further intensification goes hand in hand with further advances in the material and cultural living standard of the people. It is proven: Socialism is there for man. [East Berlin ADN International Service in German at 1733 GMT on 28 September carries the "full text" of Honecker's speech which here adds the following: "The free development of his personality can only be achieved through socialism."]

On the basis of what has been achieved we will continue to shape the socialist society in accordance with the proven principle of "everything with the people, everything in the people's interests, everything by the people's hands." In this we are supported by the knowledge gained over the decades that this is a historic process of far-reaching political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural change. In full responsibility to its people and with the creative application of Marxism-Leninism, the SED will, as always, be at pains to find solutions that accord equally with the generally valid laws and characteristics of socialism and with our specific conditions and traditions. It is axiomatic that in this we exchange experience with the USSR and the other fraternal countries and learn from one another.

Dear comrades, our meeting today confirmed afresh that our views on the assessment of the international situation fully coincide. The constructive work of the Soviet Union, full of initiative, for the safeguarding of peace and the improvement of the world situation is highly regarded by us. The tangible improvements in international relations, which emanate especially from the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, are chiefly due to this policy.

Now, as the Warsaw Pact states have proposed, there must be without delay further measures for a radical reduction in military potentials with safeguarding of equality and equal security. The change for the better that has begun must be stabilized and eventually made irreversible, all the more so as the opponents of any form of disarmament have by no means given up. Indeed, they have stepped up their activities, particularly recently.

It is our joint conviction that the next effective measure in the disarmament process must be an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States with strict observance of the ABM Treaty. Reason also dictates that accords at last be concluded on banning nuclear weapon tests and chemical weapons.

The people rightly expect a move toward a considerable reduction in armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. This would undoubtedly be of far-reaching significance for preserving peace on our continent and in the world.

The GDR has helped to shape with its initiatives and with its predictable and constructive policy the most recent encouraging development. At the side of the USSR and the other socialist countries it is reliably carrying out its responsibility as a cornerstone of socialism and peace in the heart of Europe at the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. We are fulfilling the legacy of the over 20 million fallen Soviet people of the over 55 million dead of World War II by doing everything to ensure that only peace and never again war will emanate from German soil.

In the future as well the GDR will contribute with all its strength to the realization of the joint course of peace. The international meeting for nuclear weapon-free zones in June of this year in Berlin, from which new impulses emerged for the struggle for disamament, security, and trust, proved itself to be significant for the realization of these aims. The initiatives for the creation of af nuclear weapon-free corridor, a chemical weapon-free zone, and a zone of trust and security in central Europe are also directed toward this.

Dear comrades, the proven fighting unity of the SED and the CPSU is and remains the invincible power source of our alliance. More and more important results for the cause of socialism, peace, and progress will grow out of our friendship and cooperation, of this I am sure. The results of our meeting have strengthened my conviction that this will be so.

In conclusion, the guest proposed a toast to:

—the firm fraternal link between the SED and the CPSU, between the GDR and the USSR;

—new successes in the struggle for socialism and peace.

He wished M.S. Gorbachev and all the comrades present good health.

Honecker Visits Flight Center

LD2909133988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1138 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 29 Sep (ADN)—This morning, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, visited the Kaliningrad flight control center near Moscow.

Flight controller Valeriy Ryumin explained to Erich Honecker and those accompanying him the tasks and functions of the Soviet Space Central Command, from which all manned space missions have been controlled since the beginning of the seventies.

Honecker Departs for Home

LD2909140888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, who was in our country on a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, today left Moscow for home.

At the airport he was seen off by Comrades Slyunkov and Medvedev and other officials.

ADN Reports Departure

LD2909143188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1244 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 29 Sep (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, ended his 3-day working visit to Moscow this afternoon. At Vnukovo Airport, which was decorated with the national flags of the GDR and the USSR, Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Vadim Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Zakash Kamalidenov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Rafael Fedorov, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee Department, warmly bade farewell to Erich Honecker and his party. Gerd Koenig, GDR Ambassador to the USSR, was also present.

Slyunkov Holds Talks With GDR's Mittag 28 Sep

LD2809175688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1424 GMT 28 Sep 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A meeting took place today between Comrade Slyunkov and Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, who has arrived in Moscow together with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. During the course of a conversation, which passed in a comradely and constructive atmosphere, topical questions of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and the GDR were discussed, and specific measures to step up party influence on raising its effectiveness were mapped out.

ADN on Slyunkov-Mittag Talks

LD2809150788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1253 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 28 Sep (ADN)—Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met in Moscow today for a friendly talk.

Nikolay Slyunkov, who warmly welcomed his guest in the CPSU Central Committee building, briefed him on the persistent work of Soviet Communists and all the country's working people to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th party conference. He explained how the great tasks for the development of Soviet mechanical engineering at the highest technical level and for the production of consumer goods were being tackled.

Guenter Mittag explained how the economic strategy decided on by the 11th SED Congress was being implemented, what comprehensive work was being performed in the combines and enterprises to raise labor productivity and lower costs, and how key technologies, particularly microelectronics, were being used more and more widely for this purpose.

They both stressed the determination of the two parties to more intensively utilize all possibilities for deepening scientific-technical and economic cooperation between the GDR and the USSR in accordance with the agreements signed by Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev. The exhibition "GDR-USSR—Partners for the Benefit of People," currently being held in Moscow, also was an active contribution to this.

Taking part in the talk on the GDR side were Gerhard Beil, member of the SED Central Committee and minister for foreign trade, and Guenter Ehrensperger, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the Planning and Finance Department of the Central Committee; for the USSR: Konstantin Katushev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, and Vladimir Mozhin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Economic Department.

Murakhovskiy Receives GDR Food Minister 27 Sep

PM2809122388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Deepening Cooperation"]

[Text] V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, received B. Lietz, GDR minister of agriculture, forestry, and foodstuffs, 27 September.

During the talk, the results of bilateral cooperation were examined and opinions exchanged on questions of further deepening and expanding economic, scientific, and technical links between the USSR and the GDR in the agro-industrial sphere.

Rakowski Elected by 'Overwhelming Majority'

PM2809132988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Sejm Session"]

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Sep—A Polish Sejm session has been held in Warsaw. The appointment of a new chairman of the Council of Ministers was the main item on the agenda.

A speech was delivered on this issue by W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State. He dwelt on the key problems of Poland's socioeconomic position. For the last few extremely difficult years, he pointed out, we have not backed away from the line of reforms and socialist renewal—on the contrary, we intend to move forward even more in this direction and to do so more boldly and confidently. The Polish leader noted that the difficulties should not overshadow positive, objectively irreversible phenomena and achievements. Soviet-Polish relations are more favorable than ever. This is a question of immense importance, one of fundamentally strengthening political and economic ties with a friendly socialist great power on the basis of full partnership.

The Polish leader pointed out that the achievement of national consensus is now a fundamental issue.

Poland needs a strong and clear government that implements its adopted program with iron consistency. We expect the new cabinet to produce substantial changes in economic policy aimed at improving the population's living and working conditions.

On behalf of the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth Executive Committee Presidium, W. Jaruzelski nominated M. Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, for the post of chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers.

The Sejm appointed M. Rakowski chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers by an overwhelming majority and instructed him to submit proposals for the formation of a new government. The head of government asked the Sejm to allow him 2 weeks to form a government and draw up a program, and he expressed the hope that he would be able to do so on a broader political basis than has hitherto been the case.

Problems Facing New Polish Government Viewed

PM2809115588 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 28 Sep 88 p 9

[APN correspondent V. Masterov report for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA under the rubric "We Report the Details": "Poland: What Should the Government Be Like?"]

[Text] Warsaw—Only a week ago the Sejm accepted the resignation of Zbigniew Messner's government. Postwar Poland's eighth prime minister departed from the political scene. The resignation of the Council of Ministers, voted through with 359 deputies in favor, 1 "against," and 17 abstaining, became a reality.

Now, several days later, something that seemed impossible only 2-3 weeks ago is seen as the logical consequence of mounting criticism of the methods the government intended to use to implement the economic reform.

A vote of no confidence in the government was passed at a September meeting of trade union representatives from Poland's key enterprises. However, I would describe the results of the referendum held last November, which were far from optimistic, as one of the first "warning signals." Even then most Poles were reacting negatively to the price and income reform proposed by the government. However, it is one thing to know about imminent price rises, and quite another to actually see them in the stores. People's emotional reaction is understandable. It was again claimed that the rich were growing richer and the poor poorer. The government set about increasing wages and introducing all kind of additional payments. As a result, new inflationary processes came into play.

After the first wave of strikes, as is known, the Sejm decided to invest the government with emergency powers (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA wrote about this in its issue No 21). However, the sluggishness and indecision of the administrative apparatus rendered full use of these powers impossible, and there was no time to spare. A second wave of strikes occurred in mid-August. Once again the Polish economy had to foot a sizable bill. Despite the fact that the scale of these strikes was limited, the damage they inflicted, according to the latest data, totaled almost Z54 billion—in foreign currency $20 million or R9 million.

So what should the new government be like? After all, although the government that had lost the people's confidence has departed, the problems remain the same. And verbal inflation now parallels the inflation affecting the zloty, as one of the Sejm deputies noted. The debate has shown that it is easier to criticize a "bad" government than to formulate clear-cut conclusions and ways out of the prevailing situation. Numerous well-reasoned opinions have been expressed to the effect that—within the existing political system—the government lacks sovereignty and existing practice does not allow for heterogenous participation by all coalition forces and possibly also by representatives of the section of the opposition described as constructive.

Parallel to the process of forming a new government, preparations for a "roundtable" meeting are under way. The proposal by Czeslaw Kiszczak, chairman of the Committee for the Observance of Law, Public Order, and Discipline, to organize a meeting in which people of various political persuasions and different world outlooks would take part, is being discussed with great interest at all levels. This is now the main topic of discussion in the country's sociopolitical life. After a number of preliminary meetings with prominent representatives of various sections of society, including L. Walesa, it has been decided that the "roundtable" discussion will open in mid-October. Among the main topics of discussion will be the accelerated development and modernization of the national economy and the shape of the Polish trade union movement.

Hungarian Official Interviewed on EEC Links

PM2809105588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Hungarian Deputy Trade Minister Tibor Melega by correspondent F. Lukyanov in Moscow: "Dialogue of Equal Partners"; date not given—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] According to news agency reports, the signing of an economic agreement between the EEC and Hungary—the first CEMA country—took place in Brussels on 26 September. Not long before that your IZVESTIYA correspondent met in Moscow with Tibor Melega, Hungarian deputy trade minister, who was taking part in the work of the commission of CEMA experts which was examining problems of mutual relations and cooperation between CEMA and the EEC. The talk began with questions about the dialogue that has begun between the largest world politico-economic communities.

[Lukyanov] In the middle of this year, 25 June to be precise, a joint declaration was signed in Luxembourg on establishing official relations between CEMA and the EEC. How would you assess the political importance of that event?

[Melega] The signing of the joint declaration is undoubtedly of great political significance After all, it discusses how the two largest integration systems in Europe, which have mostly opposed each other in the past, acknowledge the need to cooperate. Essentially this means the end of the era in which these organizations were disinclined to acknowledge each other's existence. This is a very important step, but the first step, and on which must be followed by further steps. In our view it is indicative that the joint declaration was born in the midst of a warming of the international political climate, which in turn is closely linked with the foreign policy of the present Soviet leadership.

[Lukyanov] Now it is time to define the specific avenues of cooperation. In your view, in what fields is it realistic to expect steps toward rapprochement in the immediate future?

[Melega] The fields of cooperation are determined, first, by objective opportunities, and also by the sides' desires. Even during the talks between CEMA and the "Common Market" in the second half of the seventies, the question of cooperation in fields such as standardization, economic forecasting, statistics, environmental conservation was raised.

As is well known, the EEC has decided to create a "single European market" by 1992 and to eliminate the obstacles to integration that still exist there. To create such a market, cooperation in the above-mentioned fields is of paramount importance. This would greatly facilitate trade between CEMA and the EEC. After 1992, when the close economic integration of the EEC countries takes place, any differences in, for instance, standards for electrical instruments, or—in the field of environmental conservation—standards for lead content in automobile exhaust, could be an insurmountable obstacle in trade. That is why, in our view, we must begin to work together as soon as possible and in diverse fields.

[Lukyanov] To all appearances, relations between CEMA and EEC countries are beginning to develop in two directions. First, there is cooperation at the level of the two organizations and, second, there is the EEC's cooperation with specific individual CEMA countries. Sometimes one hears the opinion voiced that the latter direction almost contradicts the former....

[Melega] In my view the two directions in no way contradict but only supplement and thus reinforce each other. Some questions must be resolved at the organizational level while some can be resolved within the framework of agreements with individual countries. The more ramified relations between the CEMA and EEC countries are—and, moreover, at various levels—the more realistic the embodiment of the idea of the "all-European home" will be.

[Lukyanov] The economic agreement between the EEC and Hungary was initialed recently. Similar agreements with other CEMA countries are being prepared. Some common elements will evidently be found in them. Could you describe the agreement's most important provisions for Hungary?

[Melega] As of today, after the USSR the "Common Market" is Hungary's second most important trading partner. Hungarian exports to the EEC countries last year were worth about $2 billion. The agreement between Hungary and the EEC primarily concerns the terms for trade between our country and the "Common Market" countries.

There are still many provisions in this trade that discriminate against us. It is primarily a matter of the quantitative restrictions which the EEC employs against Hungary as a socialist country. These restrictions contradict the GATT rules. We have always opposed this discrimination and believe that the principle of equality should operate in international trade. The removal of these discriminatory restrictions is a political question and was one of the main tasks of the Hungarian delegation at the talks with the "Common Market." The agreement provides for the removal of these restrictions in several stages by 1995.

As for barriers to exports of Hungarian agricultural produce to EEC countries, here the situation is different. Under GATT rules, the "Common Market's" agricultural protectionism is not discriminatory inasmuch as it is practiced not only against the socialist countries. That is why talks on disputed questions in this field will be conducted within the framework of the joint commission which is being created.

[Lukyanov] What can you say about the importance of Hungary's agreement with the EEC on the political-economic plane?

[Melega] It will mean that Hungary has been recognized as an equal participant in the international division of labor and in the fruitful dialogue that is taking the place of the trade and political confrontation which prevailed in relations between West and East until recent years. Ultimately the signing of the agreement will mean, both for our country and for the entire socialist community, that one more step has been taken in implementing the idea of the "all-European home."

CSSR Union Congress Supports Restructuring

PM2909082188 Moscow TRUD in Russian
27 Sep 88 p 3

[Own correspondent N. Shevtsov report under the "International Trade Union Movement" rubric: "Following the Course of Restructuring"]

[Excerpt] Prague, 26 Sep—The Czechoslovak trade union conference has ended in Prague. It discussed the important tasks facing the country's trade unions at the present stage.

Taking part in its work was a delegation from the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR National Front Central Committee headed by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee.

Miroslav Zavadil, chairman of the CSSR Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] Central Council, stressed in his report that working people welcome the policy of restructuring and pin great hopes on it. Support for the ideas of restructuring is shown in the trade unions' determination to take an active part in this revolutionary process.

When resolving the new tasks of socialist building, the speaker noted, we draw on the experience of the program for the revolutionary renewal and democratization of society in the USSR. Czechoslovakia's trade unions support the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which gave fresh impetus to the development of the process of restructuring.

The CSSR ROH faces the task of developing the gains of February 1948 in new historical conditions. We, M. Zavadil said, categorically condemn the attempts of those who are criticizing those gains in order to further their antisocialist plans.

The disregarding of social interests and the rights and needs of working people, the report noted, must be regarded as a grave mistake which jeopardizes the whole point of restructuring and undermines trade unions' authority. The speaker pointed in particular to the fact that trade unions must pay greater attention to questions of ensuring labor safety in production. The statistics for injuries and occupational diseases are a cause for concern.

The report also noted that the democratization of trade unions' activity is one of the main conditions for the restructuring of their work. The top trade union organs must make the greatest efforts to ensure greater independence for organs at lower level and primary organizations. It is important to establish openness and to remove bureaucracy from trade union work.

Delegates who spoke during the debate supported the aims and strategy of the accelerated implementation of the process of restructuring and the democratization of society. They stated that in the period since the 11th ROH Congress in spring last year trade unions have taken the most active part in the preparation and discussion of the law on the state enterprise, ensuring greater independence for labor collectives, and broadening their involvement in production management. At the same time many speeches drew attention to the shortcomings that exist in trade unions' activity, which still does not fully meet the tasks of restructuring. In this connection a whole series of proposals and comments were put forward providing for the further democratization and more active participation of trade unions in resolving the most important national economic tasks. [passage omitted]

West Europe

Analyst Views W. Europe Integration Problems

LD2309225188 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov writes:

A few days ago in the Belgian town of Bruge, and then in Luxembourg, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher made statements criticizing plans for further integration of the EEC countries, thus confirming that London is still unprepared to travel its part of the road toward a closer rapprochement of the community member countries in trade and economic fields. According to the British premier, attempts to concentrate the power in the economic and finance fields in the hands of the leading EEC bodies threaten to frustrate the goals set by the countries of the community. Margaret Thatcher criticized the idea of establishing the so-called "United States of Europe," dismissing it as "absurd".

Without going into the substance of the contradictions between London and its EEC partners, one can say that the present British leadership does not intend to put up with the idea that at some point in the future the home and foreign policy of Britain will be decided not in London but in Brussels, which is the headquarters for the EEC governing bodies.

But the lively and even acrimonious debate around the idea of the "United States of Europe" indicates that the issue of the development of cooperation of the European countries—naturally not at the expense of their sovereignty—is becoming increasingly attractive to both politicians and the public. And this is only natural. It is evident, however, that whatever the attitude one adopts vis-a-vis the very idea of such cooperation, the most serious and important problems faced by every European country separately and collectively, can be solved only through participation of all European states in their solution. At issue, above all, are such problems as the curbing of the arms race, ecology and so on.

That is why, without, we repeat, going into the substance of the London-EEC contradictions, one would wish to phrase the question as follows: Will not the idea of the "United States of Europe" be more acceptable to all, if it is viewed from the angle of setting up a "common European home" extending from the Atlantic to the Urals?

The disputes and debates around the thesis about the "United States of Europe" continue in the West. Many questions, arising during the discussion, have been answered. The answers are contained in the Helsinki Final Act, which charted the ways for the European states' cooperation—in the political, commercial, economic and cultural fields. Ought not the participants in the present debate to refer themselves to the Helsinki documents more frequently? This, naturally, will not eliminate the contradictions existing inside the EEC but it can well channel the discussion, now pursued in the West, into a more constructive and, more importantly, a more promising direction.

These are the ideas promoted by the discussions which have flared up in these days in Belgium and Luxembourg. It is clear that the pace and forms of the integration of the EEC countries are a matter for the EEC and its members to decide. But since what is at issue is cooperation between European countries, one would wish to recall this: this cooperation will really bear fruit only if it tends to bring all the states of the continent closer together and to contribute to building a common European home.

Commentator Reviews Munich Pact's Lesson

LD2709135888 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—TASS commentator Lev Aksenov writes:

On September 29-30 it will be 50 years since the signing of the Munich agreement which recorded the partitioning of the Czechoslovak Republic. It took Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain, and Daladier only three hours to "secure" Germany's right to possess the border areas of the Czechoslovak Republic. As a result of Britain's and France's "goodwill", the Nazis got one-fifth of the Czechoslovak territory, which accounted for a quarter of the country's population and almost half of its heavy industry. The German fascism got hold of important defense installations, huge stocks of weapons and fuel. The new border ran at a distance of only 35 kilometres from Prague.

The Western governments, by betraying the interests of Czechoslovakia, pursued the aim of undermining the ranks of the anti-fascist movement in Europe, of increasing political and diplomatic isolation of the Soviet Union, and of confronting it one-on-one with Nazi Germany. This is irrefutably evidenced by many archival documents.

London's and Paris's betrayal of Czechoslovakia in Munich loosened the already shaky treaty system which served to ensure the collective security of a number of European countries. On those days the Soviet Union was the only state which resolutely came out in defense of the interests of the peoples of Czechoslovakia. And it is not Moscow that is responsible for the fact that the system of collective security treaties was not activated.

The collusion in the Bavarian capital became a prologue to a total drama: in less than one year's time, on September 1, 1939, the first salvos of the Second World War were fired on the Polish Westerplatte Peninsula.

The lessons of the Munich pact, notwithstanding the fact that the events took place half a century ago, remain topical now as well. The main of them is the need for the unity of all forces of reason and realism and for vigorous actions to stop aggression.

The Soviet Union's opinion is that in present-day European conditions this signifies all-round development of cooperation, the building of a "common home", strict observance of the principle of inviolability of borders, respect for the established territorial and political realities, and the prevention of revanchism in any form.

Soviet-Austrian Relations Receive 'New Boost'

PM2809150188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interview With Austrian Chancellor"]

[Text] Vienna, 27 Sep—In the light of the Soviet public's great interest in Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky's upcoming visit to the USSR, TASS special correspondent Vyacheslav Kevorkov held an interview with the head of the Austrian Government for PRAVDA's readers.

Speaking about the onward development of Soviet-Austrian relations, F. Vranitzky noted that during last year's visit to Austria by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, it proved possible to give these relations a new boost. This boost is intended to facilitate the development of specialized cooperation, not only in the industrial sphere but also in the sphere of services, foreign tourism, and so on. This means that economic ties between the two states are being raised to a qualitatively new level.

The chancellor stated that Soviet-Austrian relations have been good for decades and have not been susceptible to crises, despite many fluctuations in world politics. This is a very firm base for continuing future work, both on the basis of broad political mutual understanding and also economic cooperation, and for making an important contribution to the cause of peace, stability, and security in Europe, F. Vranitzky said.

He stressed that the Soviet Union's current foreign policy is making a crucial contribution to the relaxation of international tension and to disarmament.

The chancellor went on to say that "we are now at the center of the process of fundamentally improving the climate of trust in the military sphere in Europe." As a representative of a country that does not have nuclear weapons at its disposal, I am guided by the interests of European and world politics in demanding repeatedly that "steps in the nuclear disarmament sphere should not be compensated for by steps towards a conventional arms buildup," F. Vranitzky stressed.

For Austria, European policy means ensuring a balance among the interests of separate groupings in Europe. Approximately two-thirds of its foreign trade is with EEC states.

Having noted that Austria has still not decided on the "concrete form" of its cooperation with the EEC, the chancellor stated that he would like to point out that nothing has changed with regard to Austria's permanent neutrality.

Editor on Preparations for Austrian's Visit

AU2809110988 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 28 Sep 88 p 3

[Text] In Vienna yesterday, 27 September, Ivan D. Laptev, chief editor of the Soviet government newspaper IZVESTIYA, expressed his optimism concerning the future of restructuring in the USSR. This policy is making good progress and cannot be stopped by anything, he said.

Laptev, who is presently in Austria to prepare Chancellor Franz Vranitzky's visit to Moscow, said that the forthcoming visit by Vranitzky is very important, especially because of "Austrian-Soviet trade which is developing along an ascending straight line."

The chief editor did not want to comment on the controversial "discussion on neutrality" with regard to possible Austrian EC membership. Such questions should be put to government representatives, he noted. However, he is convinced that the talks with the chancellor in Moscow will be successful concerning Europe as a whole, Laptev said.

Laptev admitted that some panicmongers in the USSR are claiming that the policy of restructuring is marking time. However, Gorbachev has proved that this is not the case. The process certainly entails numerous problems, but military means are inadequate to implement political, ideological, and economic goals, he said.

One of the greatest successes of glasnost is that, with the help of the media, the people can now form opinions of their own, and that they know exactly what is going on. Some 280 million Soviet citizens have now become "monitors of the new policy," Laptev said.

The enormous run on newspaper subscriptions is proof of the citizens' trust in the press. It is true that the important newspapers are having difficulties meeting the demand for subscriptions. The reason is simply a "lack of paper," Laptev concluded.

French Communists Improve Voter Standings

PM2809143188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent V. Bolshakov: "Communists' Success"]

[Text] Paris, 26 Sep—The first round of the cantonal elections was held in France yesterday. The division of the country into cantons, or, essentially, into electoral okrugs, was effected after the French Revolution. It is during these elections, held in two rounds, that general councils, possessing considerable local power and substantial funds, are elected for a 6-year term in all 98 French departments.

Although the political struggle during the cantonal elections does not acquire the "global" character that is evident in the case of parliamentary or presidential elections, it is highly indicative in determining the extent of political parties' influence at a local level. The present cantonal elections have been affected by the weariness of the French after a series of elections in recent months—municipal, presidential, and parliamentary. So a kind of record was established: nearly 50 percent of the electorate did not turn out to vote. Around 19 million people are registered, but only 9,152,921 voted [figures as published].

But if you break the vote down, a very clear trend emerges, even at the first-round stage. As in the National Assembly elections, the popularity of the French Communist Party [PCF] has increased. Here are the figures: 30.05 percent of the electorate voted for Socialist candidates, and 13.44 percent voted for Communists. The PCF was not far behind such major right-wing amalgams and parties as the Union for French Democracy [UDF] (17.03 percent) and the neo-Gaullist Rally for the Republic [RPR] (15.85 percent). In a number of large cities, for example in Marseilles, the Communists increased their share of votes by 8 percent since the last elections. There has been yet another clear trend this year in the further decline of the popularity of the ultrarightist "National Front." Only 5.26 percent of the electorate voted for its candidates. While the Communists managed to get 26 of their candidates elected in the first round, the "National Front" managed but 1.

PCF Secretary General G. Marchais made a speech late last night stressing the importance of the Communists' victory and calling for the mobilization of all forces in the second round, to be held on 2 October.

Italians Protest Deployment of F-16's

LD2509220588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 25 Sep 88

[Excerpts] The Italian public is protesting against plans to redeploy U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers in the Apennines. Those plans were passed by NATO and are known to have been accepted readily by the Italian government. The F-16's are capable of carrying nuclear weapons on board, and must in the next 3 years quit a military airfield near Madrid in Spain, and be rebased in Calabria. Gennadiy Vedenyapin comments:

[Passage omitted] The appearance in any part of the planet of 72 modern aircraft capable of carrying nuclear armaments on board is no laughing matter. In the given instance, this marks a step leading to change in the strategic situation in Europe, towards Italy becoming more of a forward part for NATO, an unsinkable aircraft carrier for the United States. [passage omitted]

The F-16's, after redeployment from Spain to Italy, will naturally represent a potential danger for the Warsaw Pact countries. The step will make much more difficult the search for ways of restoring the balance of forces on the continent to a lesser level of armament, which is exactly what the Warsaw Pact is proposing. We feel that it would be possible already this year to start stage-by-stage talks on substantial reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. The first stage envisages mutual elimination of disbalances and asymmetries in certain types of weapons. The appearance in the Apennines of 72 modern aircraft capable of carrying nuclear armaments will clearly lead to a change in the strategic situation in Europe. In a word, the appearance of the F-16's near Crotone in no way accords with the the majority of Europeans' striving for lasting peace. The position of our country is as clear as could be to every sober-minded person. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, while on a visit to Poland, declared: We are prepared to withdraw analogous aircraft forward-based in Eastern Europe if NATO does not deploy the 72 fighter-bombers in Italy. [passage omitted]

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama's Noriega Discusses Improved Soviet Ties

LD2909093988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 28 Sep 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Valeriy Korzin; interview with Panama's General Manuel Antonio Noreiga by Bronislav Myakota; date and place not given—recorded in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Myakota] Commander in Chief, could you explain the current internal situation in Panama?

[Noriega] The United States launched dirty weapons—the economic aggression—against a small and unarmed people although we were not at war. Human rights and the principles of the United Nations were trampled upon. They froze funds belonging to the Panamanian people. These funds were the guarantee for our monetary reserve in Panama's internal turnover. This reserve was frozen in New York. The economic pressure is intensifying. This has forced the Panamanian people and the Panamanian Government to look for other means to exist and develop agriculture, and to look for new international ties. Previously we depended on only one pole of power, the United States. We consider the U.S. economic aggression against our country to have caused us $700 million in damages, including the damage caused to our education, health care, and national economy.

We know the history of the Soviet people. We know that they are a great people. As a result of our present development, we want Panama to come closer to such people as the Soviets. We want the Soviet people to know that our country is small, but it is a country of great strength and resolve.

Khristoradnov Receives Cuban Parliamentarians

LD2609170588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1055 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 26 Sep (TASS)—A delegation of the National Assembly of the People's Government of the Republic of Cuba, headed by the acting chairman of the assembly, Severo Aguirre del Cristo, has arrived in Moscow on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The guests visited the USSR Supreme Soviet today. During a friendly conversation, Yuriy Khristoradnov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said that comprehensive Soviet-Cuban cooperation plays a positive role in accelerating the rate of both states' social and economic development.

The head of the Cuban delegation noted that the relations of friendship and solidarity between the two countries are based on a firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism. He was in favor of the further development of ties between the National Assembly of the People's Government of the Republic of Cuba and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Today the Cuban parliamentarians also held a conversation at the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet and visited the sights of the capital.

Meeting With Kamalidenov

PM2809122588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Cuban Delegation's Stay"]

[Text] Z.K. Kamalidenov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met with a delegation from the Cuban National Assembly headed by Severo Aguirre del Cristo, acting president of Cuba's National Assembly, on 27 September.

It was noted during the talk that the Cuban parliamentarians' visit is a new step along the road of deepening friendly ties between our peoples.

During an exchange of opinions on current international problems, the Cuban side made a high assessment of the Soviet Union's peace initiatives, specifically those set forward in M.S. Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk speech.

Kamalidenov Confers With Venezuela's Carpio

PM2809130588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] Z.K. Kamalidenov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, had a talk in the Kremlin on 27 September with R. Carpio Castillo, chairman of the Venezuelan Senate Foreign Affairs Commission.

The guest was told about the progress in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference on fundamentally restructuring the political, socioeconomic, and other spheres of Soviet society's life and on further expanding democratization and glasnost.

R. Carpio Castillo noted that the progressive transformations currently taking place in the Soviet Union promote the assertion of new political thinking in international relations.

Chumakov in Argentina on Official Visit

PY2009132688 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 0122 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Buenos Aires, 19 Sep (TELAM)—Yuriy Chumakov, Soviet foreign trade deputy minister, arrived early this afternoon on an official visit. He was welcomed at Ezeiza International Airport by Hector Niell, chairman of the National Grain Board.

At noon tomorrow Chumakov will meet with Agriculture, Livestock, and Fisheries Secretary Ernesto Figueras and with Trade Under Secretary Daniel Verdu.

He will also meet with leaders of agrarian cooperatives and with the Argentine-Soviet Chamber of Commerce, and will visit Bahia Blanca. He will end his visit to Argentina in approximately 1 week.

At the airport Niell remarked that the Soviet Union is one of the main purchasers of Argentine grain, oil, and byproducts. He added that this is Chumakov's first visit to Argentina. He also recalled the existance of an agreement for the purchase by the Soviet Union of four million tons of corn and sorghum, and half a million tons of soybeans. He said that this agreement expires in 1990.

Niell added: We will probably talk about renewing this agreement and about bilateral relations, with the intention of increasing trade.

Niell concluded by saying that the Soviet Union used to import almost 90 percent of our grain production but now it imports approximately 10 percent, because Argentina wants to have several purchasers and not just one.

Political & Social

Supreme Soviet Session To Convene 1 Oct

LD2909154188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided to convene on 1 October an extraordinary session of the 11th convocation of the Supreme Soviet of the country. A joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities will begin at 1200 in the Hall of Meetings in the Great Kremlin Palace.

A session of the councils of elders of both chambers will take place on the same day at 1100 in the Hall of Meetings of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin.

Registration of deputies arriving for the extraordinary session will take place on 1 October in the Great Kremlin Palace beginning at 0800.

Perfilyev: 'Another Step'

LD2909135688 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—The forthcoming plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee will "mark another step in realizing the decisions of the 19th national party conference", a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was answering questions at a briefing.

He said the calendar of international events does not always fit in with the calendar of events on the domestic scene and if some of the events overlap, priority goes to such an important internal event as a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

"One should not overly dramatize it when it does not prove possible to achieve the desired synchronization," Perfilyev said in reply to a question about the reasons behind Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's early return to Moscow from New York.

The spokesman said the Information Directorate will give an adequate briefing to correspondents on the results of the plenum after it is over. He did not rule out the possibility of one of the plenum's participants meeting with the press as well.

Plenum To Last 1 Day

LD2909134788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] [Announcer] The news that the CPSU Central Committee has been suddenly convened has aroused interest and attention worldwide, as we know from New York, from where Foreign Minister Shevardnadze had to travel home urgently. I ask our Moscow correspondent, Jozsef Barath, what they say to this news in Moscow:

[Barath] Nikolay Shishlin, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, was willingly at my disposal when I telephoned him in connection with the news, and he stressed that it is not a question of a sudden decision. It is quite natural that if they want to change the political institution system of the Soviet Union then this must be started in the fall. Moreover, it must be started in the party.

He said that they will now take the first steps toward changing the structure. That is, that henceforth it will not be the party but the council apparatus which will deal with the immediate daily economic questions. Certain decisions, Shishlin said, will be carried through on the entire party apparatus now, starting from the Central Committee right down to the base organization.

[Announcer] It is quite logical that such a plenum is necessary for the forthcoming changes of the political institution system, and that this is needed around now. But I wonder, did they really originally plan this for tomorrow?

[Barath] I hardly think that the time was planned ahead, and I see the signs of this not only in that Shevardnadze had to go home unexpectedly...

[Announcer, interrupting] Canceling the forthcoming programs and talks in New York.

[Barath] Exactly, but that in the list of leaders appearing at the various social events nowadays, Ligachev is not featured. He carried out the daily affairs when Gorbachev was on vacation. Obviously, he is now on vacation. And it is obvious that if he wishes to participate—and it is obvious also that if he will participate—in tomorrow's plenum, then he must interrupt his vacation.

[Announcer] Well, let us not make guesses. But I hope we will know more by tomorrow night or, at the latest, the day after tomorrow.

[Barath] By tomorrow night, for Shishlin said that Central Committee plenum will last 1 day, and that a detailed TASS report can be expected by tomorrow night.

Shevardnadze Returns; Welcomed by Zaykov

LD2909135988 Moscow TASS in English 1354 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, returned here from New York today. He headed the Soviet Union's delegation at the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly.

At the airport he was met by Lev Zaykov, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, and by other officials.

Further on Nagorno-Karabakh Ethnic Unrest

Armenian Leaders Meet 27 Sep

NC2809114788 [Editorial Report] Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian at 0525 GMT on 28 September carries a review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN reporting on a meeting of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee meeting on 27 September, during which "organizational, political and (?propaganda)" issues were studied and reports submitted on these subjects by the first secretary of the Yerevan city party and the minister of internal affairs.

The newspaper is also cited as reporting on a meeting yesterday attended by officials of party organizations and state committees and Suren Arutunyan, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, during which the situation in the republic was discussed.

The station cites the newspaper's report on "measures being taken in Stepanakert" for the restoration of the situation to normal and on the "special situation."

Armenian Nationalists Interviewed

PM2809112888 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 26 Sep 88 pp 1, 18

[Carlos Bradac report: "Armenia No Longer Believes in Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] Yerevan—I could not believe my ears when an affable Foreign Ministry official told me over the telephone: "Yes, you can visit Yerevan. It is open. Just do not forget to inform me of your flight number 48 hours in advance." [passage omitted]

I wanted confirmation from representatives of the Armenian nationalist leadership of the disillusionment with Russia, restructuring, and Gorbachev himself, so I made some appointments.

I met first with Yegor Muradyan. He was the brains behind the first Karabakh committee formed in February but has now been expelled from the Armenian nationalist leadership because of his insistence on concentrating demands almost entirely on Nagorno-Karabakh's reunification with Armenia.

Although a member of the Armenian Gosplan, he did not cite statistics or the economy because he is obsessed with politics, like the rest of his fellow countrymen. He was accompanied by two Armenian Communist Party members, suggesting that his opinions are supported by part of the grassroots membership. And his opinions made sense within the context of the present situation.

"The Soviet central press called us hypocrites when in February we went into the streets with pictures of Gorbachev and placards supporting restructuring. We were not lying. We believed in the general secretary and in restructuring. Now we no longer believe in the reform process. It has proved how little it can give of itself in Armenia, Muradyan commented, with a vexed expression.

One of his companions, Manuel Sarkisyan, an Armenian Communist Party member, said: "Organizations of environmentalists, students, Christians, and defenders of the Armenian language have founded the Pan-Armenian National Movement. It is the real people's front in Armenia. Party General Secretary Suren Arutyunyan wants to create another people's front, however. We are closer to the National Movement than to the party's concoctions because the only defensible person within them is the new first secretary, Arutyunyan. None of the rest."

Muradyan does not believe in the splits within the Kremlin reported by the Western press: "There is no doubt that Yakovlev's confrontation is not only with Ligachev but also with Gorbachev. However, when it comes to making decisions about Armenia, they are all Russians. Their response is unanimous."

I met in Opera Square with student representatives. Armen, secretary of the Oriental Languages Faculty's Komsomol; Tigran, head of the movement in the Polytechnical Institute; and several of their companions took me to a bar for a Turkish coffee, which of course is called Armenian coffee here.

Armen propounded his political theories about the right bank of the River Kura in Soviet Azerbaijan. "We aim to reunify all these Armenian lands, but we also know two things: Moscow does not support us and, as the tsars used to say, 'the only way is the Russian way.'"

Muradyan had mentioned the Politburo's unity of approach to the Armenian problem. I therefore decided to meet with Ambarstum Galastyan, an ethnographer and one of the 11 members of the Karabakh committee leadership, who described Armenian feelings as he discussed the pogrom in Sumgait.

"The investigation ordered by Moscow was carefully hidden from us but we can assume that the central government knew about the conditions that were developing in this city. There are several facts that confirm that the Sumgait events—in which 33 Armenians died, according to official figures—were planned in advance. The perpetrators of the pogrom had the addresses of

Armenians in advance. Iron bars were manufactured in factories in Sumgait and Baku. Many Armenians' telephones were disconnected and those who telephoned for help from public booths received no reply or contemptuous replies from the police," Galastyan said.

On the verge of tears, the Karabakh committee leader went on: "The central government is not applying glasnost to the events in Sumgait. In this way it is ensuring that they will recur. The fact that the courts describe the slaughter as an 'act of hooliganism' and not a massacre points in the same direction. Under pressure from the Armenian population, the central government transferred the case against the 82 Sumgait murderers to the courts of the Russian Federation, but as individual cases, not daring to treat them as gang members, which would increase their sentences."

Galastyan said outright that "the Sumgait pogrom was organized by the Azerbaijani government with Moscow's consent. The Kremlin aimed to intimidate our people, and to do so indirectly [hacerlo a un lado]. We feel humiliated. The central government did not send a single condolence telegram to Armenian relatives of the deceased, whereas the central press informs us of the Kremlin's grief whenever a couple of people die in a road accident in India."

It was necessary to interview the "extremist voices" always condemned by TASS.

He introduced himself with a nom de guerre, claiming that I wanted to entrap him by inviting him to my room-cum-press office and demanded that we meet in a public place. A bespectacled young man with a bicycle acted as bodyguard but disappeared after 10 minutes, which made me very worried about the safety of "Martin," representative of the expelled Paruyr Ayrikyan, leader of the National Union for Armenian Self-Determination, who now nurtures the nostalgic feelings of his fellow expatriates in Los Angeles.

"Martin" would not budge. He insisted on a public place, and prevailed. It was the discotheque of the Armenia Hotel, where a Russian blonde was subjecting the staff to "The Beautiful Island."

From time to time the blonde stopped singing, providing "Martin" with an opportunity to tell me about his group's platform: "We want separation by legal means, which entails organizing a referendum on self-determination. Our people stupidly believed in Gorbachev and the Russians when the movement began. Now they do not believe in any of that. Now they want independence," he said. [passage omitted]

Situation Reviewed

NC2809125488 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Yerevan, September 27, TASS-ARMENPRES—The measures adopted by the public order bodies in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and in the Azerbaijan SSR's Agdam region have eased the tension and prevented any further interethnic clashes. Individuals who set fire to houses have been arrested and firearms and other weapons have been confiscated from certain residents.

Investigations are being conducted among the public by party and state bodies, representatives of public organizations, and the mass media.

The normal rhythm of work continues in the autonomous oblast's rural areas. Meanwhile, production organizations, construction institutions, and educational establishments in Stepanakert are not operating. More than 150 wagons are waiting to be unloaded at the railway station.

The appeal to the republic's Communists and workers by the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has had a positive impact on the improvement of the situation in the Armenian SSR. Renowned scientific and cultural figures such as Academician V.H. Ambartsumyan and poetess Silva Kaputikyan have appeared on republic television and appealed to the public to display wisdom and alertness and not to respond to irresponsible calls. A large number of workers' collectives have expressed support for the measures taken by the law enforcement bodies of the republic. On the morning of 23 September a large number of establishments and organizations were operating in the capital and other production centers, and transportation in the city is returning to normal.

Meanwhile, irresponsible elements are obstructing stability during rallies held in the center of Yerevan, where provocative statements are being made and (?pamphlets) distributed with the intention of inciting the people (?in their jobs).

The situation in the city is being kept under watch.

'Old Conflicts' Stir Unrest

PM2809145788 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 88 p 2

[Special correspondent N. Varsegov report: "Events in and Around Nagorno-Karabakh Again Cause Alarm and Distress in Every Home, in Every Family"]

[Text] Yerevan, Baku, Moscow—The big southern stars shone constantly in the pitch-black vault of the sky. The road, like the surrounding area, was almost completely deserted. It was hot and stifling—I was already regretting that I had started off on this long night journey. Eventually a vehicle's headlights appeared behind me. That was how I came to meet the young man driving the truck.

Deliberately and for quite understandable reasons I am not going to give his nationality—whether he is Armenian or Azerbaijani—but I shall relay in its entirety the sorry tale which he told me.

"Until the age of 17 I could not imagine that any national conflicts could arise between us and them. After all, I was born and brought up on their republic's territory, I was always in the company of their children, I loved their people like my own. And I would never have learned to hate but for one incident. This was how it happened. One day, at the bus stop in the rayon center, I saw an old woman, sitting down, looking distressed. She had come from a long way off to have have her alarm clock repaired, but the workshop was closed. Well, I took the clock, looked at it, tinkered with it, and it worked. The old woman was very happy, she was all smiles. And I naturally was pleased. Then she asked: "What nationality are you, young man?" I knew their language just as well as my own, so I said that I was of their nationality. I didn't mean to lie—it just happened like that. The old woman took my hand and kissed it, saying: I thought right away that you were one of ours, even though you are a little bit like them.... Because, she said, only our young people can help an old person like that, whereas those jackals.... And then she began to say such vile things about the people to whom I really belonged that my eyes filled with tears from shame and rage. All the time she held my hand in hers and spoke to me so tenderly, like my own mother, that I didn't dare object. Since that day I have understood how people can dissemble and who they really are!

I began arguing with the driver: An old woman with little education can get all sorts of nonsense into her head. After all, what she says doesn't mean that today's well-educated young people of her nationality share her views!

"You have a poor knowledge of Caucasian traditions!" the driver explained. "Our young people greatly revere old people and heed their every word. And if the old teach the young not to love our people, that is how it will be!"

"Well, all right, but supposing you really had been of their nationality, does that mean that you would have taken the old woman's words quite differently then, that you would have taken her advice and hated the people to whom you actually belong?"

"Not me! That's the kind of man I am—I love everyone. And on the whole my people are very kind—they wish no one any harm. Whereas for centuries the others have brought their children up to hate our people...."

More than once I have seen for myself how deeply they respect and revere old people in the Transcaucasus region. And it is that positive aspect of the national character which the enemies of the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples are exploiting today for their own vile purposes. In some parts of both republics during these explosive days instigators have been organizing meetings between young people and old people who are living witnesses of old conflicts long past. You cannot deny the eloquence of some of those witnesses. In colorful terms they paint hideous pictures of the violence committed in days of old by the other, "bloodthirsty" side. And from time to time an experienced eye witness recalls scenes of even greater horror and cruelty!

"I am Russian," Sergey Ryzhov, a young man from Yerevan, said, "but when I went to rallies dedicated to the memory of the victims of the genocide and heard angry words aimed at the enemies of the Armenian people, I too seethed with hatred, let alone the young Armenians...."

"On whom did you take revenge then? After all, those cutthroats have been dead a long time."

"Yes, that's right, but history is presented here in such a way that for us the modern descendants of the former enemies are villains just as detested as their distant forebears."

I talked with the director of a school in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's Martuninskiy Rayon. He is a very reserved, mild-natured man. "The fact that some of my colleagues have succumbed to the mass hysteria through a weakness of character is still only a minor problem, but as for the children! The most terrible thing is that they, too, have been embroiled in this stupid game. Children of one nationality declare a boycott of teachers of the other nationality. We adults will forgive each other our hostility and will live in harmony once again, but what will happen to them? And through your newspaper I should very much like to urge all my colleagues in both republics: Let us not attribute the actions of individual scoundrels in one republic or the other to a whole people. Let us learn to think not in terms of a medieval view of life but of present-day requirements. Learn how to think and teach this to your children."

On a number of occasions I have read in the newspapers that "...the wound inflicted on the friendly relations between the two peoples will not heal quickly, unfortunately." I have seen for myself on the spot that people capable of sound and sober thought—and they are in the majority in both republics—feel no hatred toward the people of the other republic after the events that have occurred.

Paradoxical as it may seem, in some parts of Armenia and Azerbaijan, where internationalism is taught not in words but in deeds, the tragic events have not torn the friendship between the peoples apart but, on the contrary, have strengthened it. I talked with A. Suleymanov, first secretary of the Neftechalinskiy Azerbaijan Communist Party Raykom; R. Mamedova, first secretary of the Komsomol Raykom; and other apparatus workers.

After the well-known events, they told me, some local inhabitants themselves came to the raykoms and offered their help in restoring the broken ties with the fraternal Armenian people.

The last night before I left Baku was calm and sultry. I walked through the utterly deserted streets and avenues of the ancient city with their scent of the Caspian and of roses. The silence was complete. Very rarely a taxi went by, or tardy twosomes tarrying on their way.... How I would like the quiet and calm to prevail at last in every home, in every family.

Armenian Leaders View Strikes

LD2809162888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; TASS-attributed report]

[Text] A conference was held today in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, in which leaders and secretaries of the party organizations of industrial enterprises and associations, ministers, and the chairmen of state committees all took part.

Comrade Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia's Central Committee, spoke at the conference. It was noted that a situation has evolved in the republic which is of grave concern to working people. It was stressed that thanks to the measures taken by the party, local soviet, and economic bodies, the republic's economic situation is improving. The irresponsible strike calls are not receiving support from the broad masses of working people, most of whom condemn the actions of the firebrands who are issuing the strike calls.

At the same time there have been cases of worker absenteeism at several enterprises in Yerevan, Abovyan, and Charentsavan. The upsets in the labor rhythm of the enterprises are causing damage to the republc's economy. It was pointed out that efforts are being made by labor collectives to make up the losses and to fulfill their contractual obligations to their partners.

Strike Situation Reviewed

LD2809184888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] We must tackle problems ourselves. No one will solve them for us. This thought came to me in connection with the reportage from our correspondents Leonid Lazarevich and Koryun Khomaryan from Yerevan.

[Lazarevich] Here are some figures which we received today from the Yerevan Gorkom. Of the capital's 220 industrial enterprises, there are only 9 which are not working. I would like to remind you that yesterday there were 14 enterprises not working and the day before even more. Some 12,000 more people turned up for the first shift today than yesterday. The working rhythm has been fully restored at 146 industrial enterprises.

But in citing these figures I am not trying to give a rosy, complacent picture of what is happening here. The situation in Yerevan is still extremely complicated and fraught, as I have already said many times, with all sorts of consequences.

[Khomaryan] Morning and evening on Opera Square representatives of the completely unregistered Karabakh committee demand general strikes and the convening of a special session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet. The methods which the speakers use are far from always fair and ethical. Yesterday I heard a letter being read out. The writer reported that he was drawing up a list of his neighbors who were not participating in the strikes. Yet this letter was read out by people who constantly talk of democracy. Those collectives which are still at work are reproached.

There is a real struggle going on over transport. Without this, people cannot get to work on time and, therefore, particularly strong pressure is being put on the drivers. In this situation, naturally, particular responsibility lies with the republic's Communists.

[Lazarevich] Yesterday, there was a meeting of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, which discussed the primary tasks of party and local soviet bodies to normalize the situation in the republic. It was stressed that in the situation which has arisen the party and local soviet bodies and public organizations are using all existing political means to normalize the situation as quickly as possible and to return life and work to a normal rhythm. It has been considered expedient that members and candidate members of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the whole party aktiv should hold systematic meetings with labor collectives.

[Khomaryan] Arguments and discussions are being conducted at the enterprises. And it is in these discussions and arguments that the element of truth arises, which is so needed by everyone and by the Armenian people.

[Lazarevich] Yesterday there was also a conference at the Central Committee of the republican Communist Party in which the leaders and secretaries of party organizations of industrial enterprises and associations, ministries, and chairmen of state committees also participated. Here it was stressed that thanks to the measures which have been taken the economic situation in the republic is improving and labor collectives are making an effort to compensate for their omissions, to fulfill contract obligations to their partners, and to arrange stable economic relations with partner enterprises.

[Khomaryan] But at the same time, I consider that by no means everything possible is being done to stabilize the situation. Let us take just one aspect—the rumors. Many of these spring up and some of them are quite ridiculous. And if anything is being done to dispel thse rumors, then it is very, very little. The newspapers have begun to publish regular reports from Stepanakert, and this has taken away the grounds for all the most varied rumors which circulate on Opera Square.

And here is another subject which causes me pain. It hurts me to see boys turn up at the morning meetings instead of going to school. These are not isolated incidents.

[Lazarevich] Indeed, these are not isolated incidents. But today we visited one of Yerevan's schools, School no 157. Here all the children have continued their studies all this time. Here is a short interview with its director, Samvel Arutunevich Mukurchan:

[Begin Mukurchan recording] For years we regarded the children only as pupils. It may seem to many people that children are far removed from those problems which are so worrying and so painful to us adults. But we must understand that children, especially those in the third year of school and above, cannot fail to take an interest in the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh because they are part of the people and its future.

If we speak of patriotism, about internationalism, about the friendship among the peoples, and if we even insist that children should enter into correspondence with children of their own age in other republics, including Azerbaijan, then we must be able to explain to them about the events which took place in Sumgait, Stepanakert, Masis, Zvartnots, and near the village of Khodzhaly. But it is extremely difficult for us to do this. However, it is our duty to prevent children from having to face their thoughts alone and to ensure that they get answers here in school to what is worrying them.

The children understand very well that today it is the duty of each Armenian, even the smallest, to help [word indistinct] Nagorno-Karabakh. Therefore, our children have collected a lot of textbooks and exercise books, literary works and pictures. In a few days we shall be sending them to the village of (Bolshoy Tagvar), Gadrutskiy Rayon, the birthplace of Marshal of Aviation Sergey Khudyakov. And that is only the start. [end recording]

[Lazarevich] What difficult days Armenia is living through. But I think that the history of our people has seen many difficult days and our people has always been able to find the correct way out. I very much hope that a way out will be found.

[Khomaryan] We believe that this way out will be found.

Fire-Damaged Areas Shown

LD2809212888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent V. Ryazanov, identified by screen caption]

[Text] [Ryazanov] These pictures were taken in Stepanakert at No 41 Uzbekistan Street. The house has been burnt out, and its owners, an Azerbaijani family, have left town. [video shows burned-out house] Alongside is house No 43. Guseyn Akhmedov remains alone. A few days ago his parents left town. The young man is 21 years old. It is a year since he finished his army service. He is a driver, but is unable to get fixed up with a job. [video shows close-up of young man and view of room with burned mattress]

This is Shusha, a resort town close to Stepankert. Here most of the populaton consists of Azerbaijanis. (Erivant Bogaturiyevich Abramyan) is an inhabitant of Shusha and a worker at the Shusha construction repairs office. Now he is a former inhabitant of the town and a former worker of that enterprise. He is gathering his things together and going away to Stepanakert. [video shows man coming out of house carrying chairs; his belongings are being loaded on to a truck]

This is house No 1 on Frunze Street. The house has been burned out and its owners, an Armenian family, have left. [video shows views of burned-out house] In time an investigation will provide the answer as to the specific culprit responsible for this and other excesses provoked by irresponsible elements in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. But what can one say now to people whose lives have been so abruptly changed? How are they now to live, and where is their home? Did those who provoked all these disorders and gambled with the lives of many people and the well-being of a whole area ponder this for even a moment?

The forces guarding public order and the army subunits attached to them are resolutely cutting short all provocative forays. [video shows militiaman and soldiers at road checkpoint; truck approaching checkpoint]

Over the past 24 hours the population has voluntarily handed in and there have been removed from circulation 257 firearms. Twenty persons have been detained for infringing passport regulations. [video shows militiaman seated at desk, and three or so rifles on table in his office]

Not one civil crime has been committed since 21 September, when the special situation and curfew were introduced. The safety of people and their property are being reliably protected. [video shows laughing schoolchildren in street; video then shows a group of Soviet soldiers in uniform. One of them, Ye.A. Seleverstov, identified by screen caption, is shown being interviewed]:

[Begin Seleverstov recording] The officers, NCO's, and soldiers of our subunit are deeply aware of the duty they have to perform here. Like all Soviet people we are concerned about all the events that have been occurring here in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. However, we are well aware of the tasks that we have to perform. We are an internationalist collective. Our subunit contains Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Georgians, and Russians, and all of them are showing once again, precisely by their friendship and cohesion, that it is the internationalist composition of our armed forces which helps us to tackle even such complex tasks. One should say that the local population is very well disposed toward us. They understand all the tasks that need to be tackled here. [end recording]

[Ryazanov] The time has come for firm decisions. That is what many people are saying here at the present time. Yes, the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh need to be solved, respecting the honor and dignity of each citizen and the national sentiments of the representatives of all the peoples living in this land.

Estonia's Ryuytel Rejects Public Order Law

PM2809115388 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 26 Sep 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Estonia Rejects Moscow's Public Order Legislation"]

[Text] The parliamentary leaders in Estonia are rejecting Moscow's new law on public order and say that they do not need MVD troops to maintain order in their republic.

According to a report in the Wednesday [21 September] issue of the Estonian Communist Party's youth newspaper, SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, Estonian President Arnold Ryuytel said that the law must be adapted and discussed publicly before it can be applied in Estonia.

The law, which is intended for introduction throughout the Soviet Union, gives great powers to the MVD troops and has already been invoked in Moscow to disperse two demonstrations.

Ryuytel said in the newspaper that the authorities and the people of Estonia are agreed that punishments under the law are much too severe. Ryuytel maintained that "in our republic there is no need to use the MVD troops to guarantee order when large social and political gatherings are organized."

The law has been sharply criticized by Soviet human rights activists. It was approved by the Supreme Soviet without being mentioned in the press, despite party leader Gorbachev's call for public debate on important legislation.

The law gives the MVD the power to search homes without a court order, to suppress unauthorized mass demonstrations and strikes, and to check people's identity documents.

The country's other 14 republic have already approved the law, and it has been invoked to send MVD troops to the troubled republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Estonia's decision not to approve the law further underlines the Soviet republic's increasingly independent line toward Moscow. Ryuytel said that the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium voted unanimously that the law be modified.

Estonian People's Front Congress Previewed

LD2809222888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] The opening of the Estonian People's Front congress will take place on 1 October. The approach of this event can now be felt everywhere in the republic. Yesterday's program on Estonian television, "We Will Think Once More," in which members of the temporary initiative center of the Estonian People's Front answered questions from television viewers and newsmen, has aroused great interest, too.

[Correspondent] Two days are left before the beginning of the work of the Estonian People's Front congress. You, Marju Lauristin, are a member of the temporary initiative center of the People's Front and one of the organizers of the People's Front movement in our republic. Today it is evidently possible to say in all probability that the basic work on the preparation of the Estonian People's Front congress has been carried out. How did it go? What difficulties did you encounter?

[Lauristin] The whole process of forming the People's Front took 5 months. During these months individual district soviets of the People's Front were formed in all rayons and towns of Estonia. The first stage of the preparation for the congress was precisely linked with these places and movements in order that they themselves realized their own objectives and their own problems and set up their own platforms for the congress. The second stage is very important: It is, of course, the preparation of the congress documents. Here it has to be said that the program document of the People's Front encompasses practically all problems of the economic, political, and social life of Estonia. It is directly linked with the appeals and documents adopted by the plenum of Estonian creative unions in the beginning of April this year and later developed in a platform presented by our delegation at the all-union party conference.

The Central Committee plenum of the Estonian Communist Party, held in Tallinn 9 to 10 September, supported in principle the basic points of the problems and their solutions and the demands raised by the Estonian people. The People's Front program follows the same line—in other words, we can now speak about true unity of the Estonian party and people. We can also speak about the unity of the People's Front with the basic path of development of the public and political life of the republic, which is linked with the fact that the restructuring in our republic has, in our opinion, now reached the already decisive stage; that is, the forming of the specific and constructive programs for the development of the republic economy and political system.

[Correspondent] The order of the work of the congress has already been worked out. How will it proceed? Whom are you inviting to the congress?

[Lauristin] The congress will in essence be a general assembly of the representatives of the People's Front. This means that each group supporting the People's Front sends its representative there. A section of the delegates representing wider public circles and other movements and organizations now playing an appreciable role in the life of our republic will be there too. We will also have guests from the republic and from creative unions.

We hope that our central party bodies and the government of the republic will be taking an active part in the congress, too. On the other hand, among the guests there will be representatives of the people's front movements which are arising in other republics. We already know that we will have guests not just from Moscow and Leningrad. There will, of course, be guests from all other Baltic republics, from Moldavia, from the cities of Russia. We are expecting somewhere around 70 representatives of the people's front movement, which is already expanding in the Soviet Union. To this one should add that our delegation stayed on the eve of our congress in the socialist countries, where the people's front has long-standing traditions and very great experience. We are also expecting at the congress delegations from the people's fronts of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, and we are going to discuss with them precisely the possibilities of cooperation in the future. [Correspondent] Now let us talk about two events that took place in the course of preparing the congress. Routine consultations took place between the Estonian People's Front and representatives of other organizations, movements, funds, and societies. Leading workers of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the Estonian SSR Trade Union Council, and the Komsomol republican central committee took part in them. Questions of securing in legislation the status of the state language, citizenship [grazhdanstvo] of the Estonian SSR, and amendements to the Constitution of the Estonian SSR which is now in effect were examined. The participants in the session decided that the consultations of all political forces of the republic have to become regular. A consultative council of the Estonian People's Front has been set up for these purposes.

Now about the forum of the peoples of Estonia. It was held last Saturday. Representatives of various nationalities living in Estonia gathered in the hall of the polytechnic institute. They came to discuss their common problems and viewed their first meeting only as a beginning of a long path which must be covered in solving the questions of relations among nationalities in Estonia. While the delegations showed various views and approaches on many issues, in the main thing they were united: the path toward common goals passes through trust, mutual understanding, consolidation of efforts, and implementing the decisions of the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. The forum adopted the declarations of the forum of the people's of Estonia on national and cultural relations in the Estonian SSR and the declaration of the forum of the peoples of Estonia on cultural autonomy.

Tallinn Leader Views Popular Front Proposals

AU2809154488 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 27 Sep 88 p 3

[Statement by Akhto Velamaa, secretary of Tallinn City Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, to NOVOSTI correspondent Leo Nit, in Tallinn: "The Force of Common Sense Prevails"—date not given]

[Text] New sociopolitical problems have arisen in Estonia under restructuring. One of these is the Popular Front. It is frequently asserted that the front stands in opposition to the state and party organs, and opinions are aired that the Communist Party of Estonia [CPE] is not in control of the situation in the republic and that in practice the power lies under the control of the Popular Front.

The "Song of Estonia 88" festival provided one of the motives for such an interpretation of developing events in Estonia. In terms of mass participation this festival exceeded all previous events of this kind. It was organized by the Popular Front and held in the so-called Singers Field in Tallinn, the capital of Soviet Estonia.

Over 200,000 people gathered for the event. Songs like "My Dear Native Land," "Fatherland, My Love," and others rang out as symbols of the people's unity. The same keynote also sounded out in the speeches made, which voiced satisfaction with the decisions of the plenum of the CPE Central Committee that had ended the previous day.

At NOVOSTI's request, Akhto Velamaa, secretary of the Tallinn City CPE Committee, commented on the situation in the republic:

There can be no question of any opposition between the tasks of the Popular Front and those of the party. We have one and the same aim; namely, to support restructuring. It is a well-known fact that the party itself provided the initiative for starting the process of democratizing Soviet society, which found broad support among all the people. In the course of the campaign against bureaucracy, including that within the party, sociopolitical organizations have begun to be formed in many Soviet republics. The Popular Front of Estonia, formed in April this year, declared that its main aim was to campaign with all its strength for restructuring, and to promote progressive changes in the republic's economic and political life.

It must be admitted that the republic's former party leadership had lost the initiative and failed to adapt itself to the fast-changing situation. This was stated frankly at the plenum by Vayno Vyalyas, first secretary of the CPE Central Committee, who was elected in June this year. In many cases attempts were made first simply to deny the existence of some problem or other, and then to belittle its importance; only later would they shamefacedly admit the problem's existence, and only after long pressure would they clumsily support the people's proposals.

The Popular Front's proposals, as set out in its program published in the press, and—even earlier—put forward at a plenum of workers of the creative unions of Estonia, are aimed at improving the situation that has arisen in the republic, particularly in the demographic sphere. One of the reasons for the fall in the native population is the frequently unjustified influx of manpower into Estonia from outside. A demand was made for the authorities to take measures to halt this process. The Popular Front's program also includes demands for the establishment of Estonian citizenship, in addition to Soviet citizenship; to raise Estonian to the status of a state language within the borders of the Estonian SSR; to introduce territorial economic accountability throughout the republic's economy; and to free the economy from the dictate of the central organs.

The plenum of the CPE Central Committee examined the Popular Front's proposals and adopted a decision to support the front's initiatives. The plenum called upon Communists and Popular Front members to participate more actively in implementing these proposals.

At the same time, the plenum decisively condemned the movements and associations that had appeared in Estonia whose activities threatened to destroy international confidence; to obstruct the development, based on equal rights, of the nations and nationalities living within the republic; and to sow the seeds of alienation among them. Where such excesses appeared, it was stated at the plenum, the Communists and party and state organs would rely on the laws prohibiting incitement of international emnity. This is the standpoint of the CPE.

Now, enjoying the support of the masses, we must achieve what the 1.5-million-strong population of the Estonian SSR believes in and hopes for.

New Estonian Komsomol First Secretary Elected

LD2909083888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2155 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Tallinn, 29 Sep (TASS)—On Wednesday Urmas Laanem, 32, was elected first secretary of the Communist Youth League of Soviet Estonia. Those taking part in the extraordinary plenum of the republic's Komsomol Central Committee here today elected him by secret ballot on a competitive basis. His predecessor, Arno Almann, who has headed the Estonian Komsomol for the past 6 years, was released in view of his wish to work in a basic field in jurisprudence.

Urmas Laanem is a school teacher by education. After completing his studies at the Tallinn teacher training institute, he taught in a rural school, then moved to vocational Komsomol work. Since October 1987 he has been secretary of the Estonian central committee for work among schoolchildren.

Urmas Laanem was a candidate for the post of Komsomol leader along with three others. The participants in the plenum elected Laanem, regarding his proposals on the need for decentralizing the Komsomol's work, raising the role of Komsomol deputies in the state bodies of power, and restoration of the Komsomol's prestige as the most interesting and convincing.

Laanem is married. He likes modern music, sports, and plays basketball.

Vilnius Authorities Prevent Public Meeting

LD2809214388 Moscow TASS in English 2139 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Vilnius September 29 TASS—Several hundred people last evening made an attempt to hold a meeting at the Gedemino Square in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, a Soviet Baltic republic, in connection with the 49th anniversary of the Soviet-German treaty "On friendship and frontier between the USSR and Germany".

The city authorities have disallowed the meeting. The law-enforcement agencies have prevented it from being held. There were acts of hooliganism, defiance of militia demands. About 20 people were detained for violation of order.

Tajikistan Plenum Views Housing Problem

LD2409190588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The highest population growth rate in the country has complicated the already acute housing problem in Tajikistan. There are 850,000 people here who need housing or an improvement in their housing conditions. The most acceptable and quickest ways of implementing this important social program were discussed today at the plenum of the republic Communist Party Central Committee. A decision has been adopted on the matter discussed.

A speech was made at the plenum by Comrade Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee.

Uzbek Child Labor Practices Questioned

OW2709232388 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1035 GMT on 22 September broadcasts the scheduled 10-minute "Restructuring Spotlight," presented by Tatyana Chernyayeva. She begins the program by saying that sometimes unexpected topics turn up and that, in fact, today's program is a case in point. After a crew had finished its assignment in Tashkent, it decided to visit the local market, and this is what they saw.

Video shows a busy eastern-style market, with numerous stalls and a large crowd. Chernyayeva says that one of the striking aspects of this market is the large number of children working behind the counters. The crew decided to film the scene because of this. Several interviews with children seem to suggest that their general knowledge is far below standard expectations. An interview with the manager of the market followed. The manager readily agreed that the large number of children helping their parents in the market is not desirable and the management has tried to discourage this. However, he pointed out that the situation is particularly bad during school vacations because there is no one to look after the children while their parents are working.

The producers of the program then decided to interview a number of experts. The first, T.S. Saidbayev, doctor of philosophical sciences, points out that in Central Asia children helping their parents is a long and much valued tradition. Saidbayev sees nothing wrong with this, provided it is not abused. However, in recent years a trend is developing that gives rise to serious concern: "Quite often children work instead of their parents; very often children do work that is too difficult for them. The main issue is that all this is being done at the expense of school, health, and knowledge, which will become essential to them tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, or sometime in the future."

Video cuts briefly to the market showing Chernyayeva asking Uzbek children if they have ever heard of Vladivostok. Most of them have not. This scene is followed by an interview with B.F. Musayev, a research worker who says that similar questions were asked of high school and university students, and even graduates. The study shows that the "general level of education of our republic's youth, its professional quality, and even its political overview, do not correspond to the demands of present times." Saidbayev says that this problem is not limited to the Uzbek alone, "but is characteristic of all the peoples in Central Asia." He goes on to say that the situation should not be seen simply as a regional problem. He says: "Today a considerable number of Soviet soldiers are Uzbeks; today Uzbekistan is responsible for approximately one fifth of the growth in the country's labor resources, and in the near future the republic will be contributing 30 percent of the growth in the country's labor resources."

B.Z. Umarov, a research worker says: "In my view, the clips showing the children working in the market directly reflects the very poor social and economic situation in the republic, the acuteness of its demographic situation, and the high level of underemployment and corresponding low standard of living. Recently it has been revealed that a kolkhoznik earns (? R45). It is necessary to start thinking about the quality of education and professional levels and the mastering of the Russian language." Saidbayev interrupts by saying that the republic is experiencing an acute shortage of industrial workers, but the youngsters seen working at the markets are clearly not going to be capable of filling such jobs because they lack basic literary skills.

The program ends with Saidbayev saying that there is an urgent need for establishing an institute that will study the needs of Central Asian youth and ways to overcome the growing social and economic problems that are unique to the Soviet Central Asian region.

Officials Blamed for Lines, Goods Shortages

AU2809145688 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed Report: "What Is This Line For?"]

[Text] The photograph published below [showing crowd at entrance to a store] was taken by the press photographer O. Dumanskaya in Karl Marx Street, in the center of Kiev, at the height of a working day. What is the "deal" offered, what is the line for?

As it turned out, the "Lisova Pisnya" confectionery was selling...sweets—the very same caramels that, until quite recently, had been lying unattended on the store shelves and counters for months.

Before publishing this photograph we hesitated: Would it not be advisable to ask Yuriy Afanasyevich Kolomiyets, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, and Anatoliy Sergeyevich Statinov, the republic's minister of trade, to tell our readers how long our towns and settlements were still supposed to take "pride" in having the world's longest lines for cottage cheese, milk, beer, sweets, and whatnot...?

But at that moment the telephone rang: The Zhovtnevyy department store had offered a "deal" on cheap toilet soap. Of course, we ran to get places in the line. Thus this photograph happens to be published in the newspaper without Yuriy Afanasyevich and Anatoliy Sergeyevich's comments. But we promise readers that as soon as the editorial board receives such comments they will immediately be published in the newspaper without waiting in any line.

Remarks about waiting in lines—that ugly social phenomenon in our daily lives—can be found on page 2.

Local Soviets To Remedy Food, Trade Shortages

AU2809152488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by Ya. Oleynichenko, chief of the PRAVDA UKRAINY department for the soviets of people's deputies: "Forming Up in Line"]

[Excerpts] **Waiting lines, that "shameful distinctive feature of our lives," are being compared with all sorts of things. Out of the hundreds of letters received by the editorial board daily, quite a few convey consumers' complaints. In the readers' opinion, the problem of waiting lines is also political in its nature; these lines are a dangerous social evil that feeds nihilism and impedes restructuring. How much longer are we supposed to stand in line?**

"Soon I will be 50, but I do not remember life without lines...." "I already have grandchildren, but 'Who is the last in line' is still a compulsory password in any store. Is this going to be the case for our lives, from birth to death?" (From letters to the editor). [passage omitted]

In Odessa there are lines for milk products. Fruit candies and caramels, previously ignored, are in short supply. Trade workers make the moonshine distillers and cooperatives accountable for that, because they buy large quantities of sweets for their own production.

In Chernovtsy there are no prospects of shorter lines. Cottage cheese, cream milk, and cheese show up only seldom. Sweets and pastries have disappeared. Potatoes, onions, and other vegetables are in very short supply. Bed linen has been sold out.... [passage omitted]

Shaped by restructuring, our new thinking cannot and, moreover, must not spend decades submitting to the disastrous situation of our consumer market, to constant shortages and endless lines, to constantly increasing prices, to the uncommon lack of an assortment, to trade under the counter, to the practice of cheating and humiliating the customer. [passage omitted]

Having learned the lessons of the past, we must reinstate the reasonable and competent salesman who is capable of anticipating market fluctuations and of responding to them. We must disband the army of bureaucrats and middlemen between merchant and manufacturer and set up efficient public bodies to protect the rights of the consumer, restore his authority, his independent say, and his ability to influence the market.

To gather, study, and advertise the seedlings of the experience engendered by restructuring is at present perhaps the most difficult task. In trade there are now many seedlings of this kind, but it is essential to see them with sharper vision, to select more carefully, and to promote things more energetically. From the windows of an office they are hardly visible, and next to nothing has thus far been published about them in thick journals and monographs. Who then should play the leading role? Local soviets, deputy aktivs. They can better see what has to be done, who is better at his job, and what is hampering the movement forward. This work opens up the way to the country's future.

Improvements in Ukraine Baby Food Supply Urged

AU2709142288 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] **The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has examined the question of further developing the production of children's food.**

The particular importance of the improved supplies of these products to the population was noted. Nonetheless, the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, Ministries of Health, of Trade, of the Construction Materials Industry, and Union of Consumers Societies that are called upon to accomplish this important task have been slow in restructuring their work, and have failed to radically improve the way the feeding of children is organized.

Special products are still in short supply, and some enterprises have reduced their assortment, particularly in Vinnitsa, Donetsk, and Kherson Oblasts. This has adversely affected the balance in the feeding of children in various age groups. In Odessa, Crimean, Poltava, and other oblasts there are delays in commissioning production capacities. There have also been delays in equipping many milk kitchens, as well as specialized stores and departments trading in modern technological and refrigerating equipment. The production of small glass jars for packaging products is increasing too slowly.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has discussed and accepted the measures drawn up by the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers to develop the production of special foodstuffs for children. [passage omitted]

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has charged Communists and leaders Comrades Yu.A. Kolomiyets, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; V.P. Fokin, Ukrainian Gosplan chairman; A.Ye. Romanenko, V.P. Salo, V.I. Cherep, A.T. Shevchenko, and A.S. Statinov, ministers; and S.V. Litvinenko, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Union of Consumers Societies, with personal responsibility for settling all problems concerning the production and sale of foodstuffs for children.

Rayon Soviets Eliminated in Angarst

LD2709142088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0230 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] The Communists of Angarsk are the first in Irkutsk Oblast to undertake specific actions to improve the structure of the party apparatus. It has been decided to eliminate the rayon soviets here and instead have a single party organization to operate within the town. The number of party workers will be reduced by more than one-third. This will enable a concentration of qualified cadres in the primary party organizations, industrial enterprises, and [word indistinct]. In these new conditions, the town's party organization will be concentrating on political and ideological work among the working people, on the further development of glasnost and democracy, and on important forms of restructuring.

Defense Ministry Pressured To Close Georgia Site

LD2809124988 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Excerpts] There has been further public pressure in Georgia for the closure of an army testing site near an old monastery in the east of the republic. The walls of David Garedzhi Monastery, which is 1,400 years old, are said to be falling in ruin because of the noise produced by military equipment and firing. The Soviet Defense Ministry has refused to finance the site's transfer. Here is a report from (Sergey Goryachev), who is following the developments.

He says thousands recently staged a protest outside the building of Tbilisi University, demanding that the site should be removed. The demonstration, which was timed to coincide with the Chautauqua conference discussing in the Georgian capital Soviet-American relations, had been dispersed by militia. Soviet delegates denounced the local authorities for their action. Public demonstrations in defense of the monastery are becoming increasingly persistent as the Defense Ministry is reluctant to close the firing range. [passage omitted]

Public protest compels the Defense Ministry to make some concessions. Georgia's directorate for protection of historical monuments received a letter from the defense minister, Dmitriy Yazov, saying firing in the direction of the monastery would stop and movement of heavy equipment and air flights at altitudes of less than 1,000 meters banned. [passage omitted]

Military officials are not in a rush to close it, saying the ministry spent large sums of money for its construction. However, they can no longer afford to dismiss public opinion. [passage omitted]

Discussions on its future should not be seen just in the light of growing public concern for monument conservation. The idea was backed up by the summer's national party conference. Until recently it was mostly industrial ministries that came under attack. Now it's the Defense Ministry's turn.

PRAVDA Editorial Urges Self-Discipline

PM2809141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Communists and Discipline. Adopted Decisions Must Be Fulfilled"]

[Text] Following the 19th all-union party conference a crucial stage began in the Soviet people's life when the strategy of restructuring and the highly important decisions which have been adopted will increasingly actively take the form of practical daily work. Many labor collectives have embarked on this work by imposing order and strengthening discipline and organization. The role and responsibility of Communists are growing immeasurably. It is they who are called upon to set examples of high discipline. Let us recall V.I. Lenin's behest: "Party members must be ahead of all others when it comes to labor discipline and energy...."

A Communist's vanguard role is distinguished by enterprising questing, no disparity between words and deeds, and good example. These are the qualities which distinguish, for example, CPSU member A. Mistyukevich, an engineer from Grodno Oblast's "Zavety Lenina" Kolkhoz. Even so, Arkadiy Iosifovich believes that these qualities alone are insufficient for a genuine Communist. Key emphasis must also be placed on components of discipline like self-discipline, obedience, and ability to submit to the party committee's decision.

These are the rigid standards which govern the life and work of party group organizer A. Mistyukevich, who is esteemed by the machine and tractor pool collective. It is no accident that people here have adopted it as rule to resolve highly important questions independently, without awaiting instructions and unnecessary consent from above. Moreover, they do not put off solutions "until later" but strive to do everything that is within the power of kolkhoz members themselves.

Our present is a time of specific deeds. "Following the visit here by the general secretary of the Central Committee, we are finally convinced: We've had enough of putting up with dilatory moods!" Krasnoyarsk residents G. Bogatyrev, L. Olovyannikova, and B. Kumratova wrote to PRAVDA. "The inertia of stagnation must be countered by firm self-discipline. It is necessary to convert the skeptics by means of real achievements at every work place."

This opinion is shared by the majority of readers. But let us be totally frank: Unseemly behavior by individual party members encouraged skeptics at the time of stagnation, and still does so in places even now. This is why the struggle to strengthen discipline is inseparable from the moral and ethical education of cadres, of all Communists and nonparty people.

Rigorous observance of discipline and the quest for new forms of work can be demanded of others only by those who are themselves disciplined and inspired by a sense of innovation, those who do not tolerate falsity even in trivial matters. Unfortunately, not all Communists meet the enhanced demands yet.

The following case was cited at a recent Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. Chiatura Gorispolkom Chairman D. Guruli owns two apartments in the city, bought a third one in Tbilisi, inherited quite a nice home in the settlement of Tsirkvali, and yet had plans to build a new villa for himself. This leader's son is listed as a worker, but is in actual fact a parasite. Criminal proceedings have been instituted against him. How can anyone talk about D. Guruli's purity of moral intentions? He lost a long time ago the right to head a representative organ of Soviet power and to belong to the party ranks.

The practice of broad electability of leaders is a help in getting rid of leaders like him who have compromised themselves, and to elect in their place others who deserve it and are ready to bear the heavy burden of imposing order. As a rule, wherever party organizations approach their work seriously and do not play up to loudmouths and demagogues, the leadership of collectives comprises disciplined and competent comrades.

Let us introduce one of them—V. Fomin, first secretary of the Gus-Khrustalnyy CPSU Gorkom in Vladimir Oblast. This is how he declared his creed when addressing Communists:

"This is the especially poignant question we have to answer today: What have we done, what is our contribution? Assessments are hard, at times none too pleasant, but they are realistic and honest. There is no other way. Asking a party member to account for himself primarily means analyzing his self-discipline."

The task of party organizations is to channel Communists' work toward the implementation of restructuring, helping them to master the art of working in the new fashion. It is well known that the rights of primary party organizations have been substantially expanded now. No Communist can be promoted within the party apparatus without the primary organization's recommendation. If he fails to justify its trust, it is entitled to raise the question of removing the person it had recommended from the position he occupies. This undoubtedly enhances his responsibility to both the elected party organ and to the Communists who nominated the official.

Party committees and primary party organizations have recently made quite a few sound decisions. But they become truly valuable only when words are translated into deeds. It is primarily in the organization of concerted collective work that Communists prove themselves.

"Why should we show tolerance for party members who do not fulfill party decisions and deliberately commit breaches of the CPSU Statute or the principles of social justice?" Communist Sh. Kravtsov from Kremenchug asks with total justification. "The danger lies in the fact that they sow mistrust by breaking down discipline." "I see it in my own work: I have become a worse worker," fitter S. Milshteyn from Ordzhonikidze admits. "But why should I try to distinguish myself when my comrades (three of whom are Communists, by the way) are also slipshod in their work and play truant?"

A serious charge. The letters we have quoted, by the way, arrived in the editorial office on different occasions. But their writers do have one thing in common—acute dissatisfaction with the stance taken by a number of Communists who have forgotten their party duty to be ahead of the others. Briefly speaking, the times now make serious demands not only of those who are entrusted with the leadership of collectives but also of rank and file party members. "After all, there are many of us," Leningrader I. Kurochkin notes. "If everyone adopts a businesslike attitude, restructuring will take off. It is incumbent on us all to undeviatingly pursue the party line of strengthening discipline everywhere."

Let us emphasize this in particular: Conscientious discipline, in which all workers are vitally interested, is useful and fruitful; the opposite is also true—unthinking and unreasoning obedience, cultivated by bureaucratism and by careerist functionaries' forced diligence, is harmful. As a rule, such "discipline" turns into fetters which bring to a standstill any initiative that people might have.

This is why Communists must be constantly concerned with the development of democratization, glasnost, and businesslike criticism. Pluralism of opinions is a good medicine for the treatment of bureaucratism and authoritarian arrogance. This is so because the light of truth originates from principled discussion of pressing problems, the clash of differing views. It is, of course, very important to conduct the conversation in such a fashion as to prevent the sacred idea of "party discipline" being diluted in meaningless verbiage. Based on the principles of democratic centralism, party discipline has always been and still remains the party's most reliable weapon in the struggle against shortcomings, for the assertion of the new. To use Lenin's words, let us act as one once the decisions have been made.

The demolition of established stereotypes is not easy to accomplish. The report and election campaign now under way in party organizations shows that the lessons of democracy and glasnost are even more difficult to learn. Nonetheless, it is becoming obvious: Discipline is strengthening simultaneously with the affirmation of people's power in front-ranking collectives. This is a reliable guarantee that the decisions on deepening the reform of the political system and the radical economic transformations will be implemented. And Communists are marching at the head of the ranks of the makers of restructuring.

Journal GLASNOST Accused of Foreign Ties

PM2809112088 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Sep 88 p 3

[A. Gasparyan article: "Glasnost and GLASNOST"]

[Text] Last year, as part of its selection of items for the main U.S. national holiday, Independence Day on 4 July, the capital's WASHINGTON POST carried a lengthy article from Moscow on the publication in the USSR of the first issue of the news bulletin GLASNOST. According to a long-standing tradition, on that day people in the United States think about the march of American "democracy" throughout the world. In Moscow, the newspaper reported, "Soviet activists have decided to test glasnost with a new journal." The American mass media themselves described its title, GLASNOST, as "impudent" and "mocking" with regard to current Soviet policy.

Who was so bold as to challenge the Soviet land's course of restructuring and mock the policy of glasnost and democratization? That man is none other than the recidivist S. Grigoryants, known in the past as an ordinary and state criminal.

Criminal file No 1144/418 is preserved in the archives of Moscow City Court. The verdict on this case says: "In the period from spring 1970 through March 1974, Grigoryants engaged in speculation in works of art on a large scale and by way of trade." The investigation uncovered a good many swindles, among which the following deal, for instance, figures in the text of the verdict: "In late 1972 or early 1973 S. Grigoryants bought the picture 'The Blue Horse,' attributed to Franz Marc, for R75; he resold the picture for R10,000 in his apartment in February-March 1973, making a profit of R9,925." As you can see, Grigoryants is not lacking in experience when it comes to impudence.

After serving a sentence for speculation in 1975-1980, Grigoryants found another criminal occupation—the manufacture and distribution of anti-Soviet libels. He was sentenced for this in 1983. In February 1987 Grigoryants was pardoned. The grounds for this were his appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, promising to renounce unlawful activity in the future. The state, as a token of goodwill, dismissed his past. You would think he would have learned his lesson. But Grigoryants did not, and in 1987 he returned to his old ways.

Grigoryants and Co. apparently think that by speculating on glasnost they will ensure the security of their venture. And they unashamedly step up the propaganda campaign to discredit the Soviet state and social system. Whereas for the entire Soviet people restructuring is the path to the improvement and strengthening of socialism, Grigoryants and Co. make use of misleading references to it purely as cover for their calls to destroy our system. Naturally, these efforts are unrealistic. One thing is obvious. Since the "news bulletin," as Grigoryants calls his journal, is fairly widely translated in the West and its features are eagerly siezed upon by the mass media there, it is making an undisputed contribution to maintaining and sometimes deepening a distorted impression of the Soviet Union. This encourages those who wish us ill.

To see the justice of what I have said, you need only look at any issue of this publication. For instance, No 5 carries an article by Grigoryants himself about the possibility of a conference on human rights being held in Moscow. The author regards the holding of the conference as conditional on nothing less than a change of the Soviet system. No 8 offers a typical example of the "analytical article," written by a certain G. Pomeranets. From this article it appears that we have an "uncreative life," that "uncreative work makes us all deformed, and that our civilization is undermined every day by these deformities." And here is the confession of another correspondent of the journal, publisehd in No 11: "My political views are anti-Soviet, and naturally I cannot keep quiet and fulfill all the Soviet laws. While I am living in the USSR, I will have differences with the authorities and the laws." GLASNOST was created as a platform for people like that.

Naturally, such people have a fierce hatred of everyone in the USSR who watches over law and order. In the opinion of the author of one item, "the so-called law enforcement organs safeguard not the law or citizens' legitimate interests, but their own interests."

That is how our country appears when seen in the crooked mirror of GLASNOST. Issue No 8 also contains a report from Leningrad: "On 19 July 1987, in the northern suburbs of Leningrad near the 'Udelnaya' subway station, a whole column of fascist youths marched past one of the apartment blocks, to the beat of drums and with shouts of 'Heil Hitler,' raising their hands in the Nazi salute." An investigation showed that nothing of the kind happened. Or take the dramatic story of the demonstration by Afghan veterans on Nevskiy Prospekt on 2 August 1987. Some 200 demobilized servicemen who had served in Afghanistan did indeed march along Nevskiy Prospekt on that day. But there were none of the anti-Soviet shouts or antisocial actions that GLASNOST trumpeted. Finally, the journal endlessly distorts the circumstances of criminal cases whose "heroes" are supposedly being persecuted for political reasons. Here the "news bulletin" sometimes publishes some real gems. Who is supposed to be taken in by the report in No 5 that a certain P.V. Ruban was sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile "for manufacturing a souvenir gift to the American people for the U.S. bicentennial"?

But such "masterpieces" do not cause the slightest embarrassment either to Grigoryants himself and his associates, or to the leaders of the American special services who finance them, as is clear from items published in the American journal NATION. They count out the money, albeit, perhaps, fastidiously, and "those people over there" are obliged to do their job. After all, GLASNOST is only one of the publications of this kind that have proliferated on the basis of dollar contributions.

Since its very first steps the "news bulletin" has had close links with the international society for human rights in Frankfurt am Main, whose "Russian section" is basically a branch of the NTS [People's Labor Alliance], and consequently of the CIA. Back in August 1987, on behalf of the section, Yu. Belov assured his "dear Sergey Ivanovich," that is, Grigoryants, that "we are prepared to help you too." Belov, advertising the services offered by the NTS-CIA, added: "At various times we have had close contacts with Yuriy Orlov, Irina Ratushinskaya, and Anatoliy Koryagin, with whom we still cooperate closely." He knows whom he is talking about: Yu.S. Belov emigrated to Israel in 1979, but ended up in Frankfurt am Main, where he became head of the "Russian section" of the aforementioned society. There these professionals in subversive work against the USSR—Yu. Orlov, I. Ratushinskaya, A. Koryagin, and S. Orlov—all met.

In spring 1988 reports appeared that GLASNOST also serves its Western masters as an instrument of espionage. This emerged from articles published in the American journal NATION and later in the Danish newspaper INFORMATION. It has become known that the work of Grigoryants and his associates (the translation and publication of GLASNOST in English) is paid for by the "Center for the Support of Democracy," which is in New York. This "center," in turn, was set up and exists on the funds of the "National Endowment for Democracy," which is financed officially in the United States, by Congress among others. "In fiscal 1986," the journal NATION wrote, "the 'center' was the biggest recipient of funds from the National Endowment for Democracy in the sphere relating to the Soviet Union. It received $200,000 that year, and $125,000 in 1987." It is likely that the sums mentioned are only the tip of the financial iceberg.

The head of the "center," Yuriy Yarym-Agayev, who left the USSR and changed his occupation long ago (he turned from a physicist into a professional anti-Sovietist), founded it specifically for espionage purposes. Yarym-Agayev's proposal, "a copy of which our weekly obtained on the basis of the freedom of information law," the journal NATION wrote, "was based on a bold idea: to use Soviet human rights organizations to collect political and military information about the USSR. The Soviet human rights movement, Yarym-Agayev pointed out, had 'set up an extensive internal network for obtaining information and channels for conveying it abroad.... With proper support this information network could provide information on such subjects as the black market, the government and its functions (laws, instructions, rules, standards of secrecy), the militia and the KGB, ...the armed forces and society, social and political aspects of the war in Afghanistan, the social and political position of Soviet troops abroad, and the role of the armed forces in the economy, politics, and society.'"

While the "center" was organizing the publication of GLASNOST in English, Grigoryants and Co. were not sitting idle. On 25 April of this year they announced they were founding a "national section" of the International Federation of Journalists. Now new funds, printing equipment, and so forth are close at hand for GLASNOST.

It so happened that also in April of this year, former President R. Nixon's new book "1999: Victory Without War" was published in the United States, in which he talks about the CIA's practice and relationships with the mass media. Nixon writes of the need for a "leap forward" in the confrontation with the Soviet Union. To this end the ex-president recommends resorting to "covert operations," which, he warns, should be protected against "merciless ferreting by hounds with Pulitzer prizes." So much for freedom of information, or rather double standards, in Washington. Nixon assures us that by the year he indicates, the United States will have overcome the USSR without war, and that "it will be a victory for freedom over a totalitarian dictatorship that denies freedom." While leaving this terminology to the ex-president's conscience, we can point out that this is quite clearly the very goal pursued by Grigoryants and his GLASNOST associates.

And here it is legitimate to ask: What attitude should we take to this activity on their part, to subversive work against the foundations of the socialist society? What attitude should we take to those who, while benefiting from all the advantages of our system, try at the same time to undermine it?

In this context it would certainly be possible to consider adopting a law under which organizations like the GLASNOST editorial office would be obliged to register as agents of a foreign power. And having registered, to submit financial accounts, be subject to appropriate checks, and so forth. This could be entrusted to, say, a specially created department, which could be called, for instance, the administration for the control of antistate activity. I think Grigoryants and Co. should support the introduction of such a law. After all, it does not go any further than what has been accepted in similar circumstances since the times of F. Roosevelt's administration in the United States itself. That is to say, in the country which they hold up to us as an example.

PRAVDA, Vlasov on MVD Restructuring

PM2909101188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 88 Second Edition p 3

[A. Chernenko "Reflections on the Militia's Role": "Test of Democracy"]

[Text] "You get the feeling that some wild shoots have sprouted in our society.... I realize that we must study the soil that nurtured them and the role of the 'gardeners' of the stagnation times. But today, apart from everything else, we must not omit public monitoring of negative phenomena," Leningrader V. Kononov writes. "The recent brawling of reserve servicemen and the impunity of speculators, secondhand dealers, extremists, and hooligans have become reality. Perhaps this destabilization of a society which is rapidly increasing the pace of democratization and of beneficial spiritual renewal plays into someone's hands."

It is, perhaps, a somewhat gloomy letter. But it does contain a rational germ. The snowball of legal problems is growing. But it has to be admitted that for a long time we did not even wonder why.

From materials of the USSR MVD Collegium: "We have witnessed unusual situations connected with group antisocial manifestations. Unfortunately, a number of our services have proved unprepared for these irregular phenomena. An example of this is provided by the events in Morshansk, where a group of hooligans behaved outrageously outside the local militia building. In Tataria, in Kazan, clashes between groupings of young people have led to fatalities...."

I will be frank: It seemed to me that this aspect of the activity of law and order organs—an aspect which worries people—was somehow diffidently glossed over at the collegium. And yet you had only to remember the recent outrages by rockers in Moscow, who literally destroyed a foodstore, terrifying both customers and salespeople. Young people have committed mass disturbances in Alapayevsk and Andropov.

"I have ceased to feel that I am protected," war veteran S. Kalashnikov of Moscow writes to PRAVDA. "I, who went through the war from Stalingrad to Berlin, am becoming a coward.... How can it be otherwise? I have no means of defense. While walking home from the 'Belgrad' store I was insulted three times.... That's your democratization!"

I take the liberty of asserting that this stems not from "excesses of democratization." On the contrary, it stems from slow restructuring in the legislative sphere. The distance between the old regulations and legal provisions and the rapidly changing reality is becoming increasingly great. The "regulations infrastructure" is being deployed only slowly. This disorients personnel and the middle echelon of command. And overcautious people put the blame on the "higher-ups." But still the chief thing is legislative support. Without it the MVD cannot draw up real, viable regulations, and this situation dooms personnel to unjustified timidity in resolving the simplest questions.

From materials of the USSR MVD Collegium: "Since January 1988 the USSR MVD has rescinded more than 2,000 regulations which are slowing up the process of restructuring in the system. However, we possess an extremely obsolete legal base for creating regulation demands that correspond to the concept of the rule-of-law state."

I believe that any worker in the law-enforcement sphere will support me: The militia today does not possess adequate powers or guarantees of its professional rights in resolving questions connected with the aforementioned "irregular situations."

And this legal package is already vitally necessary, for noninterference and failure to take measures (as well as the exceeding of authority) are viewed in a flash either as "excesses of restructuring" or as a departure from the "correct line," and so forth.

I am sure that forces exist which are very well-equipped theoretically and which profit from inculcating this opinion and dinning into a worker of that same militia or prosecutor's office the conviction that democratization and the restructuring processes—the party's colossal efforts to create a rule-of-law state—give rise to excesses of anarchy and total license. Skillful use is made of this argument both by adherents of stagnation and by corrupt clans—at any rate, the events in the Transcaucasus have clearly shown this.

From materials of the USSR MVD: "Just one of the main administrations connected with corrective labor establishments drew up 11,000 documents in 6 months.... If you assess meticulously the knowledge of a State Automobile Inspectorate inspector, this will require a computer, for he is obliged to hold in his memory more than 800 kinds of road transport violations...."

"We have raised an entire generation of workers who know neither the real risk of operational work nor even work for 24 hours a day. Paper is their bread. Thousands of our official workers have no impact on the essence of the crime situation," a worker on the MVD central apparatus told me. "Some kind of intermediate structure has arisen between the leading stratum and those at the 'forefront.' This structure develops only 'in itself and only for itself.' Numerous commissions are created out of its workers, and its hardly professional cadres travel all over the country 'to give assistance,' which boils down to writing reports."

From materials of the USSR MVD Collegium: "A group of the USSR MVD central apparatus was working in Moldavia. The most placid reports. 'Assistance has been given to local organs.' Meanwhile, cases of violations of socialist legality in the republic had increased threefold. In Kishinev fivefold! There is, clearly, a direct dependence between these staggering figures and those which show the degree of professionalism of the Moldavian masters of investigation, who have recently failed to clear up three-fourths of the recorded crimes in Kishinev. A similar situation has taken shape in a number of Ukrainian oblasts, where one-third of all crimes are not cleared up along criminal investigation lines (and so frequently simply are not recorded)."

I have heard many MVD workers express the idea of an indissoluble, sadly organic connection between the bureaucratic distortions which have overwhelmed certain components of our law-enforcement organs and the sometimes glaring incompetence of workers. And these two components are associated with criminal phenomena in the law-enforcement sphere itself.

Who then is to blame for all this? There is no point in concealing the fact that a certain section of militia organ staffers was in a demoralized state. And this was inevitable, for the reigns of Churbanov and Shchelokov did not only mean the extortion of bribes. They also meant the disintegration of militia organs both vertically and horizontally.

This has to be understood, for otherwise something else cannot be understood—the degree of complexity which the MVD's present-day leadership has encountered in trying to improve the situation and regain the militia's primary qualities: fearlessness, honesty, incorruptibility. It was not Churbanov himself who was dangerous, nor Shchelokov, but the throbbing immorality and degeneration....

It is on this legacy that the multitude of problems today—primarily the problem of competence—build up. The mercenary-minded power seekers of the late seventies harmed not only the militia worker's morality. They ousted from the militia's ranks many real professional fighters. An example of this is Colonel Udalov, who was virtually crushed and destroyed as a militia fighter by the Sochi mafia. Restructuring and the USSR MVD's new leadership have returned to him both his honest name and his rank and promoted him to the ranks of those who are today waging an uncompromising struggle against corrupt crime in the Central Asian region.

The criminal investigation service was also impoverished during the stagnation period. And yet this is the cream of our militia. Its heroes put an end to banditry and held out under the bullets of various swine but then proved powerless against the criminal bureaucratism implanted by the former MVD leadership.

A blow was also struck against the professionals of the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation [BKhSS] services. And frequently against the most talented workers, who knew what was happening, struggled honestly against it, and paid for their struggle in many ways.

But it was necessary to report on the "work done." Streams of dozens, then hundreds, and later even thousands of illegal "cases" began flowing. Hence the zealous hunting down of just slightly intoxicated or even perfectly quiet citizens, the detaining of quite harmless violators, the reluctance to have dealings with really dangerous ones....

I am writing so much about this "legacy" of the stagnation period in order to make clear not only the depth of the problem but also its political parameters. To make it obvious that the USSR MVD leadership is today face to face with the very complex task of reviving morality and professionalism.

This is a difficult process, and we have to carry out restructuring and cleansing as we go.

From materials of the USSR MVD Collegium: "Organized crime is a most complex phenomenon. We have set up special groups to combat it. The Georgian MVD has displayed a good initiative in this regard. But such groups have not been set up in other Transcaucasian republics. The militia there in general has gotten involved in problems of the shadow economy precisely to the degree that this has suited the local leadership. The 'cotton affair' in Azerbaijan, for example, was neutralized for incomprehensible reasons (on the other hand, so many papers piled up from the 'checkers' and 'helpers' from the central apparatus of the BKhSS Main Administration and the Criminal Investigation Main Administration that a waste paper processing plant could have been opened. And not a single paper formulated sharply the question of organized crime....)."

What is the starting point of the line dividing fighters in the full sense of the word from rayon-scale operatives and "pocket" servants of Themis? Why did some risk their lives to neutralize the "mafioso" Kochulariya and put him in the dock eight times, while others gave him a Moscow residence permit despite those convictions?

Only now have we begun to realize that what was in fact a flexible, corrupt system was dressed up as trivial "nepotism." Bureaucratism did terrible harm to the most important elements of the activity of the militia and the MVD in general—to the operational inquiry services, to investigation, and to the correcting of those who have stumbled.

In short, the task set at the 19th party conference of waging an uncompromising struggle against bureaucratism is acquiring special meaning for the internal affairs organs. First, it resolves problems of purging cadres. Second, of strengthening operational services. And, most importantly, it places the militia worker under more clear-cut control. Organized crime parasitizes on bureaucratic distortions. This must be understood.

From materials of the USSR MVD Collegium: "It is planned to cut back the ministry by 5 administrations and 32 departments.... This will also affect local subdivisions. The reduction of the management apparatus must amount to at least 20 percent. The money saved will go to strengthen the divisional inspectors service, criminal investigation, and other operational components, as well as the investigative apparatus."

Yes, the iceberg of bureaucratism is beginning to thaw.... The decision (in my view, a revolutionary decision for such an organization) has now been made that leaders of republic, kray, and oblast subdivisions have the right "without sanction from above" to radically change flexible structures and raise their subordinates' wage rates. For example, where the "table of organization" specifies three criminal investigation inspectors it is now possible to have two senior inspectors. Provided that they cope. A bold and extremely important step, for now the bottom and the middle echelons will gain both a material and an advancement prospect! A person will not seek to get out of an operational service into a bureaucratic office only in pursuit of a "star" and position. And now it will not primarily be a carefully compiled report but real work in criminal investigation and the BKhSS service that will be encouraged.

How long the professionals have waited for this. At last!

Absolutely complete legal glasnost ranks among the essential, priority transformations. Until all criminal statistics—the widest statistics, carefully differentiated by regions and groups of the population—are made open, our legal conceptions and assessments of the militia's work will be distorted.

...But let us return to the ordinary militia staffer. There is no hiding the fact that his head now sometimes contains legal porridge. While the "higher-ups" are debating how to institute criminal proceedings against "thimbleriggers" [naperstochniki], whether to consider participation in an unsanctioned rally grounds for arrest, whether to allocate funds for technical backup for the militia.... While legal experts are defending their numerous dissertations.... The ordinary sergeant—"to be on the safe side"—passes over the "thimblerigger," the speculator, and the active extremist.

And the terrible thing is not that he passes them over but that professional timidity and legal nihilism are gradually germinating within him. And this nihilism infects surrounding people and encourages an immoral atmosphere. What is to be done here?

We put this question to the country's minister of internal affairs....

Comment by USSR Internal Affairs Minister A. Vlasov [subhead]

We spoke of this at the last USSR MVD Collegium session, which was attended by all who are personally responsible for public order in our streets and for citizens' honor and dignity. Of course, we analyzed not only unusual situations but also their possible link with "ordinary" offenses and the influence of corrupt clans on the crime situation. We arrived at the conclusion that the level of competence, the legal stereotypes, and the professional experience of many workers still prove unsound when confronted with unexpected, unusual circumstances. We are in many ways lagging behind the very complex processes of democratization.

Various kinds of directives and regulations can be used to overcome the timidity and the certain kind of disorientation of a worker. We are revising the regulations and giving people an opportunity to then resolve particular questions connected with public order.

I will point out that our workers display indecisiveness where the organic link between the militia and the local party committee and local soviet has been broken. A situation has arisen in which decisiveness simply is not encouraged, for the mentality of certain leaders is still the same as ever—"don't wash dirty linen in public." Glasnost frightens them more than the ever-increasing snowball of legal and general social problems. Hence all the "unexpected" incidents.

In general, I wish to elaborate on the state of affairs that has taken shape today in various MVD subdivisions. First, this is not a hard-set situation but precisely a dynamic process, a process of restructuring obsolete structures, cadre policy, and in many ways also targeted directives. Such a process cannot help but be contradictory and dialectical. Second, I am against approaches to the militia's activity being taken in isolation. Its problems are inseparably linked with the range of problems that exist in society. Therefore I would put at the center of my whole answer the thesis that restructuring in our system is just a part of the efforts being made by the party to form a rule-of-law state. And what is needed for this primarily is a law on the militia to define the clear limits of its rights, duties, and proscriptions. The second thing that is needed is, finally, a comprehensive state program to combat crime, with its parameters laid down in state planning, as was the case during the years of the first 5-year plans. Consequently, what is needed is absolute glasnost for crime statistics.

But I believe that even the existing laws are adequate for a more effective struggle against antisocial manifestations. We must try unswervingly to ensure that the laws are observed and that everyone is responsible before the law. Greater competence, professionalism, party-minded maturity, and moral irreproachability are required of our workers.

Why have the brilliant and sometimes unique investigative operations and preventive actions along BKhSS lines which are written about in newspapers and described in television programs and feature movies not become the general norm? Reflecting on this, I conclude how right was the thought expressed at the 19th party conference about conservatism and dogmatism of action and thought. We have encountered this in full measure. And the more quickly we overcome all this, the better things will go.

Dogmatism and conservatism at a "militia level" primarily mean the failure to take measures where they need to be taken without delay. And this failure goes unpunished. Also, sometimes it goes unmonitored. And it is not important today whether this is a legacy of stagnation or professional immaturity. What is important is that all this is being overcome with difficulty. And such passiveness frequently ends by covering up a crime.

This passiveness results from dependence on the mood and disposition of the local leadership and the overcautiousness of the militia chiefs, who have not defined precise guidelines for themselves and their subordinates. It is such "pocket" law-enforcement obligingness that has resulted in the militia proving unsound in critical situations in a number of places.

In this sense the term "test of democracy" seems to me to define accurately the state of affairs today. It is not only our competence that is being tested but also the depth of our awareness of the law, our political perception of the democratization processes, and our ability to defend them.

Yes, someone with shoulder boards finds this test more difficult. And it is certainly not a matter of being accustomed to power and to commanding authority. The regulations and everyday life in accordance with them inevitably form stereotypes which it is more difficult to destroy than to adopt a new law. But there is no other way: The party's policy of creating a true rule-of-law state demands the rejection of these stereotypes. What is needed is the authority of power and of glasnost, the high democratic authority of the people's militia.

Readers, MVD Official View Organized Crime

PM2909081188 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 September 1988 carries on page 13 under the headline "The Lion Pounces in Full View of the Perplexed Public" a full-page selection of readers' letters in response to the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 20 July 1988 article "The Lion Has Pounced" and 17 August 1988 article "Gang Rule," devoted to organized crime in the USSR.

The feature includes a letter from G.I. Didichenko, former deputy chief of Penza Oblast Internal Affairs Administration, who was fired from the internal affairs organs in 1978 by Yu.M. Churbanov, then deputy minister of internal affairs (not without the help of L.B. Yermin, former obkom first secretary) when he reportedly got too close to exposing the local mafia. The letter is published as a response to a denial in PENZENSKAYA PRAVDA of the existence of organized crime in the oblast by Pronin, the local internal affairs administration chief. There is also an exchange of letters between a criminal, Semenov, and Militia Lieutenant Colonel A. Gurov, who first aired the problem of organized crime. Semenov tries to dissociate common criminals from the mafia which, according to him, is made up of people who have failed in life—unsuccessful sportsmen, speculators, mediocre officials, petty alcohol and drug dealers, and corrupt officials in the mold of Rashidov, Adylov, or Churbanov as the main culprits. Gurov notes that the criminal scene is changing and disagrees that common criminals and the mafia are incompatible. However, he is in total agreement with Semenov on the dangers of corruption. He cites the fact that all the named people have now been dealt with as a sign of the changing times, but notes that while having contributed to organized crime they cannot be regarded as its organizers—an important distinction, according to him, which also applies in the West.

There is also a letter from a scandalized citizen who has seen people in restaurants throwing about virtually unlimited sums of money and playing cards for stakes of tens of thousands of rubles, and who disagrees with the statement that mafiosi keep a low profile. There is also a letter from an indignant militia official complaining about colleagues who appear to be turning a blind eye to what might be manifestations of gang warfare.

The feature also includes a report by SOVETSKAYA TORGOVLYA correspondents Konyayeva and Polyachek, datelined Riga, Moscow, about the spread of racketeering, especially in respect to new cooperatives, and concludes with a statement by V.K. Pankin, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Criminal Investigation Administration, under the heading "And Finally, the Official Viewpoint of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs" which reads:

"In our view the publication in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA of the articles 'The Lion Has Pounced' and 'Gang Rule,' on the problems of organized crime in the country, was topical and will assist law enforcement organs in their work and in sounding out public opinion and the opinion of the legal profession on these questions.

"The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has been aware for several years of the need to focus the efforts of internal affairs organs on exposing established criminal groups. In this connection specialized subdivisions have been set up in the criminal investigation apparatus of a number of regions of the Russian Federation, the

Ukraine, Central Asia, Moscow, Leningrad, and a number of other cities. At the same time, scientific establishments have been instructed to carry out relevant studies on the problems of combatting organized crime. (A.I. Gurov, a staffer at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs All-Union Scientific Research Institute, also took part in these studies).

"In 1986-1988 alone internal affairs organs have managed to neutralize hundreds of especially dangerous groups which held sway in the economic sphere and engaged in racketeering, robbery, armed robbery, and theft. Money and valuables totaling more than R350 million have been confiscated from the criminals.

"At the same time practice and scientific research into the state of the struggle against crime in the country indicate that organized crime is on the increase and that there is collaboration between individual officials, including law enforcement organ officials, and criminal elements.

"As the published articles rightly note, the struggle against the manifestations of organized crime has its specific features and is accompanied by specific difficulties.

"Thus, for instance, because the criminal sphere 'bosses' do not commit specific crimes themselves, they remain outside the reach of the law; 'business' relations between groupings in various parts of the country are being established and strengthened; reliable legal protection of witnesses in organized crime cases is lacking.

"At present the ministry, in cooperation with other law enforcement organs, is preparing additional measures whose implementation will enable us to combat organized crime more effectively. It is envisaged in particular to considerably reinforce the specialized subdivisions and to equip them with the necessary technical facilities. Scientific establishments and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs departmental services have been instructed to clearly define the concept of organized crime and, on this basis, to elaborate proposals for amendments to legislation on the establishment of criminal liability for the organization of criminal activities and membership of criminal societies.

"The ministry has a businesslike attitude to mass media materials on controversial questions pertaining to law enforcement activities. Items of this kind contribute to the timely elaboration of relevant measures to combat negative phenomena and accelerate their implementation."

Ignatov Discusses Foreign Police Cooperation

PM2809085988 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 25 Sep 88 p 3

["Topical Interview" with Vasiliy Ignatov, chief of the USSR MVD Organizational-Inspection Administration, by APN correspondent Gennadiy Leonov: "Militia and Police: Is Cooperation Possible?"—date, place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] How does the USSR MVD cooperate with other countries? This question was asked of Vasiliy Ignatov, chief of the USSR MVD Organizational-Inspection Administration, by APN correspondent Gennadiy Leonov.

[Ignatov] Our ministry cooperates mainly with colleagues from the socialist countries, of course. This covers exchange of experience and technology, direct assistance in crime detection, and exchange of information.

We also have examples of collaboration with representatives of police forces in capitalist countries. For example, not so long ago we engaged in a successful operation with Canadian colleagues involving the detection of a large consignment of drugs in transit through USSR territory. Last February we signed a memorandum with Britain on combating trafficking in this poison. I could add that we have borrowed dogs from our colleagues abroad to detect drugs, certain features of road traffic organization....

I recently visited Vienna and met the chief of Austria's Justice Administration. At my request, he showed me the city's central jail and the city's wonderfully equipped control center. I learned many interesting things.

[Leonov] The USSR is not a member of Interpol. Why?

[Ignatov] The point is that Interpol, whose headquarters is in France, is a major data bank on international organized crime, mainly the drugs trade.

I cannot say that the USSR MVD leadership is against joining Interpol, but it is necessary to think over the expediency of such a step.

[Leonov] The USSR MVD now faces a problem which was never mentioned before, and nobody was prepared for its solution. What I mean are the actions of law enforcement organs during demonstrations and rallies.

[Ignatov] Indeed, we proved absolutely unprepared for this type of activity. Events around Nagorno-Karabakh forced us to learn as we went along, as it were.

[Leonov] Your Western colleagues have considerable experience in this context....

[Ignatov] Yes, this could become another sphere for cooperation. True enough, in the first place we must learn not to disperse demonstrations but to assist in holding them peacefully and, if need be, protect peaceful citizens from hooligan elements so that the tragic events in Sumgait and Yerevan Airport are not repeated. This requires precise procedures for the holding of demonstrations and rallies, which we will rigorously apply. Incidentally, such procedures have now been established by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree.

[Leonov] What technical equipment was used by the MVD during the aforementioned disturbances?

[Ignatov] MVD staffers were protected by helmets, shields, and [bulletproof] vests. They were forced to use active defense means only after they were subjected to direct attack.

Clear-cut regulations are now being elaborated for the use of technical equipment by the Soviet militia to maintain order during demonstrations and rallies. They will be applied only in extreme cases, and only the ones which cannot cause permanent injury will be applied. We have no plastic bullets, we have never used them, and we have no intention of using them.

Debate on Stalin Collectivization Continues

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[Interview with V.P. Danilov, doctor of historical sciences, and N.V. Teptsov, candidate of economic sciences, by PRAVDA correspondent A. Ilin, published under the rubric "Pages of History": "Collectivization: What It Was Like"; date, place not given—respondents not specified]

[Text] An earlier article under the rubric "Pages of History" (PRAVDA, 26 Aug 88) talked about the first stage of collectivization and its effect on the life of our country and the fate of millions of peasants.

Today we continue this topic. We are publishing an interview with V.P. Danilov, doctor of historical sciences, and N.V. Teptsov, candidate of economic sciences, by a PRAVDA correspondent. The material is published under the editorship of Academician G.L. Smirnov, director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute under the CPSU Central Committee.

At a New Stage [subhead]

[Ilin] In our last conversation we discussed the events of August 1930, when the results of the first stage of collectivization were summed up. They showed that the "rush for speed" seriously harmed the cause, but also that part of the peasantry (21.4 percent) had linked their fate to the kolkhozes by that time. It must be said that your account evoked conflicting responses from readers. As an example, some note that a negative consequence of "revolution from above," the alienation of the peasants from the land, means of production, and results of labor, was not emphasized definitely enough. Others, on the contrary, reproach the participants of the conversation for their one-sided approach to the characteristics of Stalin's role in collectivization, setting off only the negative aspects. What can you say concerning this?

[Answer] Differences of opinions are inevitable. Recently there have appeared quite a number of publications about collectivization which differ sharply from previous, oversimplified assessments and stereotypes. Naturally, not everything can be accepted unconditionally. Moreover, modern publications sometimes give different assessments of some or other events, their causes and consequences. We must get used to this. There is a scientific quest under way; there are different approaches. This is not bad, but a blessing, I think. It is a good basis for reconstructing a complete and true picture. In doing this, we cannot, must not, avoid the painful matters of our history and suppress them. A true analysis of the lessons of the past will help solve today's problems, including an upsurge in the rural economy. Today, perhaps the main thing is to return to the peasantry the status of landowner which it lost in previous years, and to arouse a feeling of love for the land and confidence in tomorrow. Various forms of contract, lease, and measures of social development of the countryside are called upon to ensure success in carrying out these tasks, but rural renovation is not simple!

As far as Stalin's role is concerned, this is best judged by his practical deeds, not by his words; he knew how to portray himself as an one who had unparalleled concern for the good of the people.

[Ilin] Apparently, not everyone fully conceives a fundamental difference between the course chosen by the party and Stalin's practice. It is convincingly disclosed in a report devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. It notes the importance of collectivization in strengthening socialism's positions in the countryside and in fundamentally changing the entire way of life of most of the population on socialist principles; it gives an in-depth analysis of the causes and consequences of the excesses permitted during those years and the departure from the Leninist principles of a considerate attitude towards the interests of the working peasantry.

[Answer] Socialist transformation of agriculture based on radical technical reconstruction and a rise in the overall culture of the countryside, which would have been equivalent to a true cultural revolution, as was outlined by Lenin's cooperative plan, was an historical necessity. By the late 1920's and early 1930's, the objective course of socioeconomic development had placed these issues on the agenda. Farming on small plots of land using primitive tools doomed the peasants to difficult manual labor, ensuring for them only a maintenance of existence and an endless reproduction of the same backward living and working conditions. The low level of agricultural production curbed overall economic development of the country and placed serious obstacles before the industrialization which was under way and construction of socialism as a whole. The country's position in the world dictated acceleration of the development of all sectors of the national economy, particularly industry. At the same time, this need did not require "complete collectivization" in 2 or 3 years and by any means. No objective conditions can justify the violence against the peasantry which was carried out during the collectivization and dispossession of the kulaks in Stalin's way.

[Ilin] So, let us go back to August 1930. What conclusions were drawn from the first stage? After all, the situation was correctly assessed and the objective circumstances and real possibilities taken into account; transformation of the rural areas could proceed in the future on a sound basis and yield greater results.

[Answer] Of course. Corrections were made, at least initially. Economic levers began to be used more and more actively. As before, the main forces of party, state, and public organizations were concentrated on carrying out tasks of collectivization. The scale of technical reconstruction in agriculture increased—primarily through creating state machine and tractor stations (MTS). There were 1,040 MTS's created in 1931. The level of mechanization of agriculture work rose markedly. The process of socializing peasant means of production was regulated, although "misunderstandings" with the peasant woman, because of the cow, as Stalin later admitted, continued. Only on 26 March 1932 did a Central Committee resolution come out which obliged local organizations not only to cease forced socialization of cattle, but also to help kolkhoz farmers in the acquisition of useful livestock.

In 1930, the state gave the kolkhoz farmers much help; they were granted substantial tax privileges. But in return, agricultural tax rates were increased for individual peasants, and lump-sum tax collections were introduced only for them. The volume of state procurement also increased and became mandatory.

The combined plenum of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) [VKP(B)] Central Committee and Central Control Commission held in December 1930 announced that in the agricultural sector "in the first 2 years we have already managed to more than double the entire 5-year program" and even "basically" resolve the grain problem (?!) as a result of "the major successes achieved in the area of kolkhoz and sovkhoz construction and the elimination of the kulaks as a class, being steadfastly carried out on the basis of complete collectivization." There was no mention here of the lessons of the previous winter. The resolution "On the National Economic Plan for 1931" contained target figures for collectivization of all groups of regions of the country. For the Northern Caucasus, the Lower and Middle Volga, and the steppe region of the Ukraine, the target was established to combine "at least 80 percent of the peasant farms" into kolkhozes. For the central Chernozem Area, Siberia, the Urals, the forest-steppe region of the Ukraine, and the grain-growing areas of Kazakhstan it was ordered "to ensure a 50-percent collectivization of peasant farms," 20-25 percent for "areas used for grain farms," and "at least half of the peasant farms" for the Soviet Union as a whole. As Stalin's telegram in March 1931 to F.G. Leonov, secretary of the East Siberian Kraykom, pointed out, local organizations "not only were not prohibited from but, on the contrary, were recommended to overfulfill the target." Overall, it indeed was fulfilled and even overfulfilled: Throughout the country as a whole, 52.7 percent of the peasant farms were already in kolkhozes by June 1931.

The year 1932 was declared "the year to conclude complete collectivization." In doing so, the criterion for completing collectivization was "basically" lowered somewhat: combining 68-70 percent of the peasant farms into kolkhozes. In the fall, 62.4 percent of the peasant farms were in kolkhozes. Thus, the large collective farm became a basis of our economy and the entire social system.

Relying on the Poor [subhead]

[Ilin] Collectivization affected the interests and fate of the entire peasantry. But naturally, different social strata in the rural area perceived the shift to collective forms of farming differently. What did it mean to the poor peasant masses, for the middle peasants, a significant portion of whom were part of kolkhozes by the fall of 1932?

[Answer] Obviously, we must first characterize the scale of rural social differentiation before collectivization. According to data from the commission of the USSR Council of People's Commissars on the burden of taxation (sometimes called the Rykov Commission), in 1927 peasant farms comprised 3.9 percent kulak, 62.7 percent middle peasant, 22.1 percent poor peasant and 11.3 percent proletarian farms. As we see, middle peasants comprised the bulk, and poor peasants and farm laborers comprised one-third.

A shortage of land was typical of the latter; therefore, even if they had land, they could not farm it independently and were most heavily dependent upon the well-to-do sections of the rural areas, particularly the kulaks. Their own experience of "sitting as free owners on free land" showed them that they had no real prospects of escaping from poverty and bondage alone. This part of the rural area saw unification as a way out for themselves. They were the section of the population which actively supported both complete collectivization and elimination of the kulaks.

The attitude of the middle peasants was more complex and contradictory. Their living and working conditions were also quite difficult. The majority of the middle peasants began to understand the limited nature of the capabilities of the small farm. But the shift to collective forms of farming signified to them a radical break-up of the usual way of life. Therefore, their doubts and hesitation were inevitable. Before deciding to take this step, they wanted to see practical, visual proof of the advantages of kolkhozes and be given the opportunity to structure the new forms of life themselves, according to their own interests and without any constraint. Under these conditions, the middle peasant made the choice voluntarily.

V.I. Lenin taught to give attention to the interests of the working peasants. A resolution of the Eighth Party Congress signed by him in 1919 formulated a most important conclusion: "Only those unifications are valuable which are carried out by the peasants themselves on their own initiative and the advantages of which are tested by them in practice."

It was also necessary to take into account that the peasantry had changed radically as a class in the years following the revolution. The working peasant now considered Soviet power to be its own and became a true ally of the working class. Relying on the poor and consistent implementation of the Leninist policy of alliance with the middle peasants against the kulaks would have made it possible to avoid the excesses which took place in the late 1920's and early 1930's.

[Ilin] But how was the policy structured with respect to the kulaks in the first years of Soviet power, during the NEP [New Economic Plan] and during complete collectivization? Very much is being said and written about this today.

[Answer] The struggle against the kulaks as an exploiting class had already begun during the Great October Socialist Revolution. At that time this struggle included dispossession of the kulaks, that is, direct and forcible expropriation (completely and partially) of the means of production on kulak farms. However, even during the years of the revolution and the Civil War, when the class struggle in the countryside often went as far as armed clashes, and even more so in the period of the NEP, the road to a new society was not closed to the kulaks. They had the right to join agricultural cooperatives of all types, including kolkhozes. True, there were limitations: The kulaks could not be founders of cooperatives or be elected to their management boards.

This policy fully corresponded to the Marxist-Leninist statement of the question on ways to eliminate exploiting classes. It called for abolishing exploitative relations and replacing them with relations of cooperation, but not the elimination of people.

[Ilin] Under the conditions of the NEP, there was an increase in kulak farms. They numbered about 900,000 in 1927, the most during the postrevolutionary period. However, this process was under quite strict control of the state, which was carrying out a policy of restricting and squeezing out the exploiting aspirations of the kulaks.

[Answer] A rapid reduction in the number of kulak farms was seen in 1928-1929. This was the result of emergency measures in grain purchases and the confiscation of grain reserves and part of the means of production from the kulaks. Many of them were convicted on charges of speculation. The confiscation of surplus land in 1928-1929, forcible redemption of tractors and complex machinery, reduction and then suspension of crediting and supplying means of production, increasing tax pressure—all this also undermined the economic and political positions of the kulaks. Introduction of individual taxation, which immobilized the entire annual income and often more than that, directly ruined these farms. They began cutting back production and selling off cattle, livestock, and agricultural machinery. Kulak families migrated to the cities and left for industrial projects. According to data from the USSR Central Statistical Administration, the percentage of kulak farms was reduced from 3.9 percent in 1927 to 2.2 percent in 1929 for the RSFSR and from 3.8 to 1.4 percent for the Ukraine. By the fall of 1929, their total percentage barely exceeded 2.5-3.0 percent, numbering 600-700,000 families.

The situation in the rural areas and the entire course of events was sharply aggravated by the decision made in 1929 to prohibit accepting kulak families into kolkhozes. This immediately and completely separated them from and counterposed them to all peasants, caused extreme bitterness, and hardened kulak resistance to the limit. Dispossession of the kulaks also caught a significant portion of the middle peasants.

[Ilin] In a speech at a scientific conference of Marxist agrarians on 27 December 1929, Stalin announced the shift to a policy of eliminating kulaks as a class. He announced this as if it was already a fact. On 11 January 1930, PRAVDA published the lead article "Elimination of Kulaks as a Class Becomes the Order of the Day." It called for "declaring war on kulaks to the death and in the end wiping them from the face of the earth."

[Answer] On 15 January 1930, a special Politburo commission chaired by V.M. Molotov was charged with developing specific measures and methods of implementing this policy. On 30 January, the Politburo approved the VKP(B) resolution "On Measures for Eliminating Kulak Farms in Areas of Complete Collectivization." It directed confiscating from the kulaks means of production, livestock, farm buildings and dwellings, enterprises for processing agricultural products, and seed reserves. Farm property and buildings were transferred to non-distributable assets of the kolkhozes as contributions of the poor peasants and farm laborers, and part of the resources went to paying off the debts of kulak farms to the state and the cooperative.

[Ilin] The kulaks being dispossessed were divided into three categories. The first included the "counterrevolutionary activists"—participants in anti-Soviet and anti-kolkhoz actions (they themselves were subject to arrest, and their families were subject to eviction to remote areas of the country). The second category included "prominent kulaks and former semi-landowners who actively opposed collectivization" (they and their families were sent to remote regions). Finally, the third category includes the "rest of the kulaks" (they were subject to resettlement in special settlements within the areas where they previously lived).

The resolution specified that by areas the number of kulaks farms being dispossessed should not exceed 3-5 percent of all peasant farms. Nevertheless, it was much more than the number of kulak farms which remained by the winter of 1930. For areas of complete collectivization (Northern Caucasus, Lower and Middle Volga, the central Chernozem area, the Urals, Siberia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan), the resolution gave figures for the "restrictive contingents" subject to being sent to remote areas of the country: 60,000 farms (families) of the first category and 150,000 of the second. On 25 February, the "restrictive contingents" of the kulaks being dispossessed were set for the Leningrad, Western, Moscow, and Ivanovo-Industrial Oblasts and Nizhegorodskiy Kray: 17,000 of the first category and 15,000 of the second.

The rigid assignment from above of quotas by areas, the directed order of conducting a large-scale forcible action, and the entire tone of the resolution, as well as of the instructions of central Soviet bodies and the specific instructions locally, essentially nullified the warnings contained in them against "passions," "alienation from the masses"....

"In a Particularly Urgent Manner..." [subhead]

[Ilin] All the same, as can be judged from letters to the editor, a number of readers get the impression that historians and columnists today are also committing "excesses" in assessments and exaggerating. Whereas earlier all errors were written off to local "extremists," now primary blame is placed on the higher leadership. You see, the article "Dizziness from Success" and other warnings played their part in improving the sentiments of the peasant masses.

[Answer] One cannot deny either the objective difficulties or the gross mistakes of local workers who sometimes too zealously "demonstrated initiative" and resorted to unjustified threats and direct violence. But one cannot help but take into account the fact that the tone for these excesses was set back during Stalin's winter trip to the areas of Siberia, which we mentioned. On the day of his departure, 14 January 1928, a directive was sent out which explained the situation which had developed, primarily the rise in prices, by the fact that "private traders and kulaks had used the good nature and slowness of our organizations, broken through the front in the grain market, raised prices, and created a wait-and-see sentiment in the peasants...." The directive justified the emergency measures and contained a direct instruction to "arrest speculators, kulaks, and other disorganizers of the market and price policy," and to try them "in a particularly urgent manner not involving any formalities."

[Ilin] From that time on, the emergency measures were converted into a system. Techniques from the times of the Civil War and military communism were used not only against the kulaks but also against the middle peasants.

[Answer] This has been expressed, in particular, in the practice of dispossessing the kulaks. Thus, in the winter of 1930, shifting those kulaks being dispossessed from the third category to the second was widely practiced. The desire to "overfulfill" the "norms," "control figures," and "quotas" which came down from above became common everywhere. One must keep in mind that beginning in the spring of 1930 this involved eliminating in essence the former kulak farms, for the decree of the USSR Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars already had deprived them of the opportunity to lease land and exploit the labor of others.

The outburst of peasant outrage forced the Stalin leadership to back down and take steps to correct the most flagrant acts of arbitrariness and outrage. Part of the kulaks who were dispossessed and destined for dispossession were "rehabilitated." At this time there is only separate information on the results of correcting the "excesses." In the Kursk District, for example, 4,453 of the 8,949 dispossessed kulak farms were restored, and in the Lgov District 2,390 of 4,487—that is, more than half.

[Ilin] Between February and October 1931 there was a new wave, very broad wave of eliminating kulak farms. Overall leadership was accomplished by a special commission headed by A.A. Andreyev. Dispossession of the kulaks was also carried out later, after this commission was disbanded in March 1932. It increasingly took on a nature of repressions for not fulfilling quotas for grain procurement, for misappropriation of kolkhoz products, for refusing to work....

[Answer] Only on 8 May 1933 were the party and Soviet organizations sent an instruction which directed them to limit finally the scale of repressions in the rural areas. This document, signed by Stalin and Molotov, stated that localities would "still continue to send requirements on mass eviction from the countryside and on using sharp forms of repressions. The Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars have orders for immediate eviction of about 100,000 families from the krays and oblasts." The instruction explained that although the "class struggle in the countryside will inevitably become more intense in the future, nevertheless, its old methods have 'become obsolete': As a result of our successes, the time has come in the rural areas when we do not need mass repressions, which affect, as we know, not only the kulaks but also private traders and part of the kolkhoz farmers."

In this connection, the following decision was made: "Immediately suspend all mass evictions of peasants." However, this actually only involved limiting the scale of the evictions—they were to be made "only on an individual and partial basis and with respect only to those farms headed by those actively struggling against and organizing a renunciation of sowing and purchases." The same instructions "permitted" the eviction of 12,000 farms and gave their "order" by republics and rayons.

[Ilin] Just how many families in all were dispossessed? Various figures are cited in the press; for example, a figure of "not less than 3 million" is given, that is, 11-12 percent of all peasant farms.

[Answer] For the time being, it is difficult to determine the number of dispossessed farms and the people who suffered. Unfortunately, some authors strive to give the largest figures possible, not concerned about their reliability and reasonability. They want to shock the readers with the death of 13 or 15 million people, as if the figure of 4 or 5 million was not enough, in their opinion, to condemn with all decisiveness the Stalinist violence against the peasantry.

[Ilin] There are precise data only on the number of families sent to remote regions of the country (that is, those who were in the first and second categories according to the 30 January 1930 resolution). There were 115,231 families sent in 1930 and 265,795 sent in 1931. Consequently, in 2 years there were 381,000 families sent to the north, the Urals, Siberia, and Kazakhstan. Some of the kulak families (200,000-250,000) had time to "dispossess themselves" or get rid of their property and flee to cities or projects. In 1932 and after, special eviction campaigns were not conducted. However, the total number evicted from the countryside during that time was at least 100,000. Approximately 400,000-450,000 families who were to be resettled in individual settlements within the krays and oblasts of their previous residence (third category) also left the countryside for projects and cities after confiscation of property and various painful experiences. It turns out that a total of about 1-1.1 million farms were eliminated during the course of kulak dispossession.

The Famine of 1932-1933 [subhead]

[Ilin] Still, the most tragic page of history is the famine of 1932-1933 which befell the countryside. For a long time we were forbidden even to mention it. But then, the slogan "make all kolkhoz farmers prosperous," advanced by Stalin at that very time, was propagandized to the utmost.

[Answer] Yes, the famine which broke out in the grain-growing regions of the country during those years was one of the forbidden topics, and not only during the cult of personality. True, the Soviet reader learned about villages dying out from starvation in the Volga region and the Ukraine from the works of Mikhail Alekseyev and Ivan Stadnyuk in the early 1960's. However, only under conditions of glasnost have historians been given the opportunity to study this tragedy. The first results of a specific historical analysis have shown that the famine which took so many lives was the most terrible crime of Stalin and his entourage.

Assertions have already appeared in the press that the famine was the simple consequence of Stalinist collectivization. They say: Since the tragedy took place after collectivization, it was a consequence of it. How was it in actuality?

[Ilin] Let us turn to the facts and figures. On the whole, the harvests of 1931 and 1932 were just under the average of many years and in themselves did not threaten famine. The trouble came because the grain was removed forcibly and essentially "in the field" both at kolkhozes and at individual peasant farms for the sake of fulfilling unrealistic industrial development quotas, arbitrarily set by the Stalinist leadership in 1930 and contrary to the 5-year plan. We would note that they were unable to fulfill these voluntaristic quotas, which has been talked about in recent press publications.

[Answer] Currency was required to purchase industrial equipment. It was possible to obtain it only in exchange for grain. Meanwhile, a crisis developed in the world economy, and grain prices fell. However, the Stalinist leadership gave no thought to reconsidering the aim at the industrial "leap" which was excessive for the country. Grain exports continued to increase. In 1930, 835 million centners of grain were harvested, which made it possible to export 48.4 million centners. In 1931, the harvest was much less—695 million centners of grain; but even more grain was exported to the foreign market—51.8 million centners. Many kolkhoz farmers had all their grain taken away, including the seed resources. Serious food difficulties occurred in Siberia, the area along the Volga, Kazakhstan, Northern Caucasus, and the Ukraine, and famine began in places. Kolkhoz farmers and individual peasants left the farms, sometimes in entire villages, and went to the cities and projects. A number of kolkhozes collapsed. During that year, steps were still taken to normalize the situation in the countryside (food and seed loans, etc.), which prevented mass starvation.

In 1932, the gross grain harvest was 699 million centners, but part of it was left standing. Of course, there were also objective difficulties, but they were not the main cause. After the bitter experience of 1931, the kolkhoz farmers were forced to seek any kind of earnings on the side, avoiding kolkhoz work. They remembered well how the grain they grew that year went along the "conveyer"—from the field to the threshing machine and then immediately to the procurement point, bypassing the kolkhoz granaries.

The countryside of the grain belt of Russian and the Ukraine made it to the spring of 1932 physically weak following the half-starved winter. "Barbers" appeared in the still-unripened fields—most often desperate women with starving children. Using scissors, they cut the ears of grain for kasha for their family (in the kolkhoz fields this was usually done surreptitiously, thievishly, at night). When the harvest began, and the first threshing yields were again completely hauled to the procurement points, the "carriers" appeared. They carried grain from the threshing floors in their pockets, in their bosom....

[Ilin] On 7 August 1932 the law on protecting socialist property was passed, signed by Stalin with his own hand. It introduced "as a measure of judicial repression for misappropriation (theft) of kolkhoz and cooperative property, the highest measure of social protection—execution by shooting with confiscation of all property and with commutation under extenuating circumstances, imprisonment for not less than 10 years with confiscation of all property." Amnesty for such cases was forbidden. The actual purpose of this law—a law which introduced lawlessness—was quite clear to contemporaries. In the countryside they called it the "law of five ears." It was also denounced in the party environment.

[Answer] By early 1933, in less than 5 full months, 54,645 people had been sentenced under this law; 2,110 of them received capital punishment. Sentences were carried out in approximately 1,000 cases. Judges declared that "they could not bring themselves to do it...."

[Ilin] The terrible famine was already knocking at the door of the peasants' log huts. Comment upon how events developed.

[Answer] In the Northern Caucasus, Lower and Middle Volga, and the Ukraine, kolkhozes were unable to fulfill the grain delivery quotas in 1932. When it was reported to Stalin that leaders of Orekhovskiy Rayon, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, had authorized kolkhozes to leave themselves resources for planting and to fill the insurance fund, he went into a violent rage. On 7 December 1932, a circular signed by him was sent to all party organs; in it Stalin declared these leaders to be "party frauds and cheats who were cleverly carrying out kulak policy under the guise of their 'agreement' with the general party line." He demanded "they be immediately arrested and given what they deserved, that is, a 5-10 year prison sentence each." On his order, the same term was given to "saboteurs" of grain procurement in other rayons as well. Then a telegram signed by Stalin and Molotov was sent to the Stalingrad District demanding that the "criminals" accused of halting grain delivery be "immediately tried and given 5, or better 10, years of imprisonment.

Emergency commissions were sent to these areas. A group made up of L.M. Kaganovich (leader), M.A. Chernov, A.I. Mikoyan, M.F. Shkiryatov, G.A. Yurkin, G.G. Yagoda and others went to the Northern Caucasus. V.M. Molotov headed the emergency commission in the Ukraine. Repressions became a means of conducting grain purchases. Many kolkhozes and primary and often rayon party organizations were declared to be kulak; raykom secretaries, chairmen of rayispolkoms and kolkhozes, and MTS directors were declared saboteurs and degenerates. They were arrested and executed, with information about this published in the press. As a result of the purge throughout Severo-Kavkazskiy Kray, 26,000 people were expelled from the party, or 45 percent of the rural Communists. In the Kuban, the population of entire villages was sent to northern areas of the country as punishment for not fulfilling the grain purchase plan.

[Ilin] On 16 April 1933, M.A. Sholokhov wrote to Stalin about the outrageous methods used in procurement. In his letter of reply, Stalin charged that kolkhoz farmers were conducting "sabotage" and even a "war of starvation" against the workers and the Red Army. There was not a word about the disastrous situation in the countryside itself....

[Answer] A wave of administrative arbitrariness and violence swept over the countryside. Later, in the 8 May 1933 instruction already mentioned, Stalin and Molotov admitted: "Kolkhoz chairmen and kolkhoz management board members are making arrests. Chairmen of rural soviets and secretaries of party cells are making arrests. Rayon and kray authorized agents are making arrests. Everyone who is not too lazy and who, strictly speaking, has no right to make arrests is doing so. It is not surprising that with such a wave of arrests, OGPU [United State Political Administration] agencies, and especially the militia, are losing the sense of the measure and often make arrests without any justification, operating according to the rule: Arrest first, investigate later." The instruction prohibited "making of arrests by individuals not fully empowered by law" and also "taking into custody before trial for minor crimes." However, the "wave of arrests," which was condemned too late, was itself the result of arbitrariness which the Stalinist leadership created in the lifeless countryside during grain purchases from the harvest in 1932.

In the winter of 1932-1933, a massive famine broke out in the villages of the country's grain-growing regions—in the Ukraine, Northern Caucasus, Lower and Middle Volga, Southern Urals, and Kazakhstan. There were cases of entire settlements dying off.

[Ilin] It is extremely difficult to establish the number of people who died as a result of the famine. There is not yet any scientific research by Soviet historians and demographers, for reasons already stated. Foreign Kremlinologists attribute the annihilation of 13 million peasants to complete collectivization of agriculture, including more than 7 million who died of starvation. However, these figures evoked criticism even in Anglo-American literature. It has been shown fairly convincingly that the at the basis of the calculations made were the use of "obscure sources," "totally unjustified interpretations" and, the main thing, the desire to evoke "indignation" against the Soviet Union and socialism in general. But according to more objective estimates of statistical data in the works of historians Robert Davis and Steven Wheatcroft and demographers Barbara Anderson and Bryan Silver, the number of victims of the famine was 3-4 million. Soviet social scientists still have to conduct much research work to have their say.

To Overcome Alienation [subhead]

[Ilin] Collectivization was completed during the Second 5-Year Plan, when the remnants of individual peasants were drawn into the kolkhozes. How did the kolkhoz system and the rural economy develop at that time?

[Answer] The beginning of the 5-year plan was extremely difficult for agriculture. The gross yield of grain crops in 1933 and 1934 averaged about 680 million centners, the lowest since 1921. However, the state grain purchases were extremely high—233 million centners in 1933 and 268 million centners in 1934. Livestock raising was damaged because of the violence in organizing the kolkhozes, the orientation on maximum socialization of livestock, and the famine experienced by the countryside. The total number of cattle was reduced from 60.1 million head in 1928 to 33.5 million in 1933; pigs from 22 million to 9.9 million; sheep from 97.3 million to 32.9 million (in 1934); and horses from 32.1 million to 14.9 million (in 1935). The countryside led a half-starved existence.

A tremendous amount of effort and time was required to overcome the crisis situation.

The new Rules of the Agricultural Artel, adopted in February 1935, played a positive role in these conditions. They summarized and formalized the new relations in the kolkhoz countryside, defined the main principles of organizing production and distribution on the kolkhozes, and guaranteed the existence of the individual small holdings of kolkhoz farmers.

The recovery of agricultural production began in 1935-1937. Harvests began to increase, livestock herds began to increase again, and pay improved. The results of technical reequipping of agriculture also had an effect. In 1937, the MTS system was servicing 9 out of 10 kolkhozes. However, the increase in production during these 3 years did not cover the losses of the first 2 years.

As for collectivization of individual peasant farms, which by the start of the Second 5-Year Plan numbered about 9 million, the events of 1932-1933 actually halted it. Opinions spread within the party that it was necessary to reexamine seriously the policy in the countryside, particularly in the area of kolkhoz construction. In particular, it was recommended that individual small holdings of kolkhoz farmers be expanded (increasing household plots, permission to have two cows, etc.) and that individual peasant farms be provided incentives.

But a conference on collectivization questions was held on 2 June 1934 at the VKP(B) Central Committee, at which I.V. Stalin gave a speech. He announced the start of a new, concluding phase of collectivization. It was suggested to go over to the "offensive" against the individual peasant by increasing tax pressure, restricting land use, and so forth. In August-September 1934, agricultural tax rates on the individual peasant farmer were increased; in addition, a lump-sum tax was introduced for them, and norms for mandatory delivery of products to the state were increased by 50 percent compared to the kolkhoz farmers.

Collectivization was completed by 1937. The country had 243,700 kolkhozes which united 93 percent of the peasant farms.

When talking about the history of collectivization and its lessons, we must not forget that we were the first to take this path, and objective difficulties of the quest cannot be ruled out. We must give credit to the kolkhoz peasants who did so much for the country to strengthen its economic and defensive might, which was especially revealed during the war years.

Both our experience and later foreign experience showed that a large collective farm opens up broad opportunities for economic and social progress. But these opportunities are fully realized when the labor collective is the boss in practice—independent and possessing initiative, when relations are structured on democratic principles. This is precisely what we are striving for today.

These principles were violated for a long time. The independence of the kolkhozes was sharply limited from the very start, which impeded their initiative and economic growth. In the kolkhoz countryside there was a constant mobilization of human and material resources for various needs of the state. In January 1933, after the failure of grain procurement, mandatory deliveries of kolkhoz products to the state were instituted, which had the nature and force of a tax. Prices for grain and most other agricultural products were set at 10-12 percent below market prices.

The most important means of production—virtually all machinery—and also skilled personnel were concentrated in the state MTS system which cultivated the kolkhoz fields for payment in kind, and the amount of payment was set from above.

This also contributed to the alienation of the producer both from the means of production and from the results of labor. A system of directive planning and bureaucratic commanding of kolkhozes on the part of the apparatus developed in parallel. Moreover, the kolkhoz farmers did not have passports, which deprived them of the opportunity to relocate freely, legally tied them to the kolkhoz, and gave their labor a forced nature. A dispossession of the peasants in the countryside took place.

Despite significant changes in the late 1950's and early 1960's, the command-bureaucratic system of managing kolkhozes has remained to this day. It actually has become an obstacle to the development of kolkhoz production and the realization of its capabilities. It is here we must look for the explanation of the causes for agriculture lagging behind the needs of the country, and also for the flight of peasants from the land and the desolation of the villages. As was emphasized at the 19th all-union party conference, a definitive break-up of the command system and development of true independence of labor collectives today comprise the basis of perestroyka in the kolkhoz sector of the economy.

The current agrarian policy of the CPSU, in accordance with Lenin's ideas of a cooperative society, is directed at accomplishing an in-depth democratization of the economy. This involves the regeneration and further development of kolkhozes as cooperative association, and restructuring their internal structure and activities on cooperative principles. Kolkhozes are becoming associations of primary collectives (brigades, sections, families, and others) working on contract, lease and, in general, cost-accounting principles—a kind of cooperative cooperatives. They are united with other kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and various enterprises into inter-economic cooperatives—production, sale-supply, and others. Thus, a cooperative socioeconomic structure is emerging. Its creation and development will become a major step toward practical implementation of Lenin's idea of socialism as a system of civilized cooperators.

'Whole Truth' About Stalin Requested

LD2809131388 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Excerpts] The first-ever court hearing concerning the personality of Stalin has taken place in Moscow. Retired Professor (Ivan Shekhovtsev) of the Ukrainian city of Kharkov has since last year filed 16 lawsuits against the authors of the publications about Stalin. He accused them of discrediting a leader who has been associated by millions of people with this country's economic achievements and with the victory in World War II. All the lawsuits were turned down, because neither Joseph Stalin nor his relatives could empower (Ivan Shekhovtsev) to defend the country's late leader in court. The 17th lawsuit was considered, because it concerned (Ivan Shekhovtsev) himself. [passage omitted] Radio Moscow's reporter (Nurlan Urenbayev), has asked novelist Oleg [name indistinct] to comment on the case.

It may seem strange to an outsider that debates about Stalin go on and on, decades after the leader's death. We seem to know enough about that unique personality who carried out genocide against his own people. The fact that debates continue is evidence that the whole truth about Stalin is harmful to a certain group of the population. Some elements of the command system of management established by Stalin still exist, and they have allowed the officials representing that system to retain their positions and privileges. The collapse of Stalin will spell the collapse of that system too, and this is the reason for the numerous obstacles the bureaucrats have put up in the way of the drive for openness.

Many of the documents showing how the power mechanism at the time of Stalin worked are still unpublished. Many facts of history are classified. They don't constitute state or military secrets, but they may affect the interests and calm of the bureaucracy. [passage omitted]

Today many have found it rather painful to admit that they were misled. (Ivan Shekhovtsev) has tried to use their feelings. Once a member of the repressive apparatus, (Ivan Shekhovtsev) has described his work of a police investigator and then a prosecutor as successful. He prides himself on the fact that none of the cases he was in charge ended in an acquittal. (Ivan Shekhovtsev) says that since there has been no trial of Stalin or his associates they cannot be called criminals. [passage omitted]

We need the whole truth about Stalinism for two reasons: It will help us clear the economy and government of the remains of Stalinism; and it's going to be as important in terms of the moral purification of society, which would rule out a relapse.

Regional Wage Coefficients To Begin 1 November

PM2809101588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] In accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the USSR Law "On the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1988," the USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decree on the introduction as of 1 November 1988 of regional coefficients for wages for workers and employees for whom these coefficients had not been set at enterprises, organizations, and institutions in the northern rayons of Kirov Oblast and also in Aktyubinsk, East Kazakhstan, Guryev, Dzhezkazgan, Karaganda, Kokchetav, Kustanay, Pavlodar, North Kazakhstan, Semipalatinsk, Uralsk, and Tselinograd Oblasts in the Kazakh SSR.

The introduction of these coefficients is aimed at improving the population's material living standard and keeping cadres in regions of the country important for building up production potential.

As a result of the implementation of the projected measures, the wages of workers and employees at enterprises, organizations, and institutions situated in the designated rayons of Kirov Oblast and in the oblasts of the Kazakh SSR will be increased by an average of 15 percent.

TV Shows Earthquake Damage in Roshtkala

LD2809210988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This occurred in the Pamirs: an underground tremor, which was more like a powerful explosion. The force of the epicenter, which was in the town of Roshtkala near Khorog, registered 6 points. The earth's crust continued shaking for several minutes.

There are 26 small hamlets on the territory of the former Roshtkala Rayon, where we shot this film. Not one of them escaped entirely unscathed. There was no significant destruction in Shugnanskiy or Ishkashimskiy Rayons. But one way or another, preliminary calculations suggest that several hundred houses, schools, kindergartens, hospitals, and other facilities suffered from the disaster. More than R2 million worth of damage has been done.

A headquarters to eliminate the consequences of the disaster has been set up in the oblast, and the people are being rendered essential aid. [video shows ruined buildings, buildings with cracked walls, rubble being cleared manually]

'Vremya' Reports Flooding in Buryat ASSR

OW2809142788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1100 GMT 27 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Ya. Nikolayev video report on flooding in "many regions of the Buryat ASSR"]

[Text] This is the second flood this year. The water has broken out of the river beds and flooded the meadows. Hundreds of livestock points have been flooded and destroyed, as well as 500 kilometers of power lines and 400 kilometers of roads. Tens of thousands of hectares of grain are also under water. The damage is estimated at R38 million. [video shows large areas under water, hanging electric wires, damaged houses and buildings]

Now that the water is subsiding, reconstruction work has begun. However, questions are being raised: Why were so many people caught unaware when weather reports predicted the disaster? Why were houses and industrial buildings erected in areas subject to flooding? Furthermore, protective dams and hydrotechnical constructions have been built without due consideration or special and thorough research. As a result, the rivers' hydrological state has been disrupted and the disaster area increased.

[Begin recording of Ye.A. Tarasyuk, chairman of flood commission—identified by caption; video shows Tarasyuk standing outdoors, speaking into microphone] The cycle repeats itself every 3 or 4 years, each time causing millions of rubles of damage. The country's central organs—the State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control, Gosagroprom, and the scientists—must be approached without further delay so that measures can be taken to work out a real, long-range program for struggle against natural disasters in the republic. [end recording]

Does that mean that half measures such as those used in past years can no longer be relied on?

Briefs

Azerbaijan Village Restored

A TASS correspondent reports on the revival of Azerbaijan's mountain villages. The name of Nardaran has reappeared in Divichinskiy Rayon. The village where more than 100 families used to live was abandoned during the amalgamation of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the sixties as people left for the rayon center and industrial towns. The initiative to restore the village came from the Zabrat rural soviet, and 150 houses have now been restored, roads paved, and electricity installed. There is a school and a kindergarten. Former villagers have been invited to return and are doing so. Work with young people is important. To ensure specialists are available in the future, 12 young people from mountain villages are being sent to agricultural colleges and technical colleges. [Summary] [*LD2909025588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0230 GMT 27 Sep 88*]

Economic

Paper Calls for Action on Prices, Inflation

PM2809160888 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Sep 88 p 1

[L. Telen report: "Will We Be Able To 'Tame' Prices? Notes From a Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Preparatory Commissions"]

[Text] Scientists say that a ruble in 1960 is equivalent to 42 kopeks today—that is how far the purchasing power of the country's paper money has fallen. In the last 1-2 years alone, bread has gone up 20 percent, fruit, vegetables and hosiery 15 percent, television sets 10 percent.... Meanwhile, the proportion of cheap goods has fallen rapidly, while that of costly goods has grown. At the same time a covert growth in prices is taking place. Sausage similar in quality to the fabled "dog's delight" is now selling at the price of "gourmet" sausage.... But stop—who is going to be surprised at these facts, cited at a session of the preparatory commissions? We go to the same stores, we spend the same currency.... The urgency of the problem is well known to everyone, but it is not clear to everyone how to alleviate it.

My desk is piled high with readers' letters in response to articles about prices. Those supporting the policy of the USSR State Committee for Prices can easily fit into a thin folder. The others are "anti." The State Committee, their authors believe, has not yet proposed a program that meets the people's interests. Are they right in their distrust of the committee, or not? After all, it was this department that submitted a report the other day for the attention of the preparatory commissions on the main indicators of the plan and budget, "On Measures To Overcome the Trend Toward Price Increases in Excess of the Improvement in Consumer Properties and Quality of Articles." Was it not public opinion that made the State Committee for Prices seek new approaches? After all, only yesterday its representatives were assuring us that price increases are inevitable. In a word, the deputies had to assess these measures on behalf of those whose interests they represent, on our behalf.

I can testify that the Supreme Soviet deputies tried sincerely to do this. Their speeches basically echoed the letters to the newspapers entirely, though they showed parliamentary restraint, whereas the letters were more heated.

V. Liyv, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, lathe operators' team leader at the 50th Anniversary of the USSR "Talleks" Production Association excavator plant: "Under economic accountability, two ways of increasing profits are possible, cutting costs or increasing prices. Why have economic incentives yet to be developed that would make people follow the former path?"

A. Boyko, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, instrument maker at the D.E. Dzerzhinskiy "Tadzhiktekstilmash" Plant: "It seems to me that the State Committee for Prices has yet to develop the concept of cost-cutting pricing. As yet we hear such proposals only from scientists. Why?"

K. Kulakova, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, chief of the Kromskiy Rayon Agro-Industrial Association Planning and Socioeconomic Development Department: "How long will the State Committee for Statistics go on concealing the true state of affairs? The so-called price index only confuses the picture. If you believe it, prices for nonfood goods are actually falling. Do they think we don't go shopping? It must not be forgotten that prices are not so much an economic concept as a political concept!"

I. Gorbachev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices, delivering the report, admitted: Price rises recently have become threatening. The speaker cited figures convincingly to explain the customary indignation felt in the stores. Sixty percent of the growth in annual trade turnover, for instance, was achieved through price rises. The average supplement for "new" or "fashion" goods jumped from 15 percent in 1985 to 30 percent this year.... At certain enterprises, such as Moscow's "Bolshevichka" factory, about 90 percent of output is sold at contract prices.... Interesting figures? No doubt. But I admit that I, like the deputies, was more interested in something else: Is it within our power to curb these spontaneous forces?

The keynote speaker associated the leap in prices directly with the reform and with the enterprises' unrestricted freedom in pricing and the pursuit of profit. And, of course, the cooperatives—here prices are approximately twice the state prices. But since these problems were created by a new economic policy, is it not obvious that a new key to them should be sought? In fact, the keynote speaker agreed with this. He agreed, but he still failed to advance beyond two or three partial economic measures, to a program, a general scheme for pricing. "Because of shortage of time," he explained.

However, he found time for another program, presenting for the deputies' attention a highly detailed draft "comprehensive price monitoring system." What does this system provide for? First and foremost, strict planning of cheap goods, according to the range of products. An increase in monitoring officials: the State Committee for Prices proposes creating the post of Price Monitoring Inspector in every city with a population of more than 30,000. The involvement of trade unions and local soviets in combating price rises. And finally, an annual reexamination for output "with price supplements." Simple and reliable. But also tried and tested, for if anything has been done successfully, it has been the organization of monitoring. You see, there is a whole State Committee supervising prices. And yet they have grown, and are still growing, like grass through asphalt. And unless we find intelligent economic solutions today, and if we go on relying on administrative pressure, they will go on growing. The representatives of other ministries and departments assured the deputies of that, like it or not.

I. Gritsenko, USSR deputy minister of light industry: "In August of this year we were instructed to produce goods above plan to the tune of more than R2 billion. Without additional resources! In these conditions, how can monitoring halt price increases?"

V. Potapov, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building Main Economic Administration: "I think the kolkhozes and sovkhozes will become reconciled to our prices when retail and purchase prices for their output are brought into line (meaning increased? —L.T.)."

R. Fedorov, deputy chief of the Ministry of Grain Products Main Economic Administration: "Many of our varieties of grain show a loss or low profits. Last year we had to introduce new, more costly varieties. Alas, their quality proved poor. But how can we abandon them when they are highly profitable?"

So are we supposed to listen to explanations of why we find it more difficult every year to make ends meet from one payday to the next? Fine, the State Committee has not drawn up its economic program, but the scientists have drawn up various options! If the statesmen do not agree with them, then argue, refute their arguments! But no, it is as if the leading economists had never spoken out in the newspapers and journals....

But one scientist, Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Deryabin, was given the floor. And he immediately proposed his program for curbing prices. Here it is, in its most concise form: Ensure that neither the enterprise, nor the ministry, nor the worker has an interest in price rises, impose different taxes on profit obtained by reducing prime cost and profit obtained from price increases, speed up the production of highly profitable goods, set a course of reducing, not increasing, wholesale prices and therefore production costs, regard the best enterprises, not the average ones, as the norm... Interesting? No doubt. But why not familiarize deputies with this and other alternatives a month or two prior to the discussion? Then they would have time to talk with the scientists themselves, consult with voters, and simply think about the figures without hurry or fuss. A difficult course? But after all, the problems facing us are not particularly easy. And today we want the deputies to tackle them seriously.

I will not cite the recommendations that were adopted by the commissions in discussing the problem of prices. As the reader has already realized, the recommendations do not contain a structured, solid program, nor could they do so as yet. All the same, there is a move in that direction. In any event, the spirit of this document was determined not by a passion for giving orders, as used to happen, but by economic common sense. And that means there is hope for the future.

Scarce Money Supplies Delay Wage Payments

PM2809102188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[Yuriy Razgulyayev "Own Correspondent's Column": "It Pays To Count the Pennies"]

[Text] Frunze— It pays to count the pennies is an old, well known truism. But we don't abide by it all the time, by any means. Is the time really long gone when it was as easy as pie to get money from a bank to cover losses, miscalculations, and elementary bad management? Livestock units took credit worth tens and hundreds of thousands of rubles, or even millions. Osh Oblast Agro-Industrial Committee, for instance, thus owed the state more than R600 million. The annual volùme of production of all kolkhozes and sovkhozes taken together "siphons off" approximately the same amount.

Now such liberties have ended. Finances are once again strictly calculated and controlled. Why are you taking the money? When will you repay it?

A whole system of banks has been set up in order to ensure that this mechanism works efficiently and without hitches. There are five such banks in Kirghizia. Virtually all of them had a difficult time coming into being: trained specialists had to be found and premises selected. The system does exist, but what are the results?

Our newspaper has already written that at the beginning of the year, when most labor collectives switched to new conditions of economic activity, there were holdups in the payments of wages. Kirghizia did not escape these holdups either. People were told: You are working badly, and so there's no money in your account. The situation has gradually sorted itself out. In some places loans have been taken out and in others above-quota stocks have been sold. And enterprises have begun to work better.

But in the second half of the year there was another wave of nonpayment. In August the total wages owed in the republic exceeded R30 million. For several days and even weeks people were unable to get their wages. What is the reason for the disruptions now?

A considerable proportion of the debt still falls on those collectives and livestock units which are working inefficiently. How can the Osh Agro-Industrial Committee pay wages regularly if almost one-half of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes here have lower than 10 percent profitability? They are barely covering their own expenses. Among the industrial enterprises there are many that are insolvent.

However, in many cases delays have occurred, as there was no ready cash in the banks. This is especially typical of Osh and Issyk-Kul Oblasts. The "bankers" account for the critical situation simply as follows: Trade is slow to get the population to spend its money. At first glance, all this seems correct. Having sharply reduced the sale of alcohol, many of the republic's regions were unable to fill the gap that arose with consumer goods. So commodity turnover fell apart at the seams.

But what about the banks? They were not set up to despondently record a shortage of foodstuffs, goods, and services. They were given the right to finance, support, and stimulate the development of sectors where there was stagnation. Unfortunately, it is virtually impossible to find instances of this kind of vigorous activity on the part of the banks that were recently set up in Kirghizia. On the other hand, one can note that the channels for uncontrolled waste of money have become broader.

As yet there are not that many cooperatives in the republic and they do not exert a crucial influence in the services sphere. But as regards money circulation....

The "Vesna" cooperative in Tash-Kumyr, Osh Oblast, got tens of thousands of rubles from the bank. It bought up fruit and honey with this money and left the republic. Why? To sell goods at increased, that is, speculative, prices. "Lyuks" Cooperative in Osh carried out the same operation. Only it "withdrew" from the bank a rounder sum—almost R200,000. The list could go on and on. Not one bank can say precisely how much money "drifted" out of the republic in this way, thus bringing down the shutters on the cashdesk windows that were unable to pay the Tash-Kumyr miners.

People building their own homes caused a substantial deficit in the republic's money circulation. They obtained loans totaling approximately R90 million from cashdesks—10 times more than a year ago. Despite the party's widely proclaimed course of encouraging this form of housing construction, the Kirghiz "bankers" and the planning organs for some reason did not make prior provisions for these payments. The coffers were emptied once again.

There is also another side to this miscalculation. The Issyk-Kul Oblispolkom could give no intelligible answer to the following simple question: How did they think they were going to replace these tens of millions? There's not much timber, brick, or cement in stock or in stores. Many people from Frunze, Osh, and Tokmak who are building their houses are also trying, without success, to buy construction materials. Money has already been paid out. But when will it come back in?

Hundreds of Industrial Divisions Abolished

LD2809170888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] The transition to economic methods of managing the national economy has required a serious restructuring of the administrative apparatus in the republics. This is how the picture of such transformations looks in the Ukraine:

By today nine ministries and departments have been abolished. Fifty-four industrial associations and over 300 other industrial bodies have been liquidated. It has to be said that the reductions are not being made simply for the sake of it, but rather, first and foremost, because the functions of economic bodies in the republic are being changed. Their work is now directed towards the in-depth study of complicated problems and the solution of interindustrial tasks.

Agricultural

Kiev Paper on Nikonov Tour in Rovno Oblast

AU2909105288 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Sep 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "An Important Reserve for Feed Production"]

[Excerpts] In our country the areas under corn, which is a high-yield and general-purpose feed crop, are now appropriately sizable. But many kolkhozes and sovkhozes are still a long way from fathoming the potential of this crop. Efforts made in recent years to increase the output of corn grain and feed were thoroughly examined during an all-union seminar held recently on the grounds of a joint Soviet-Austrian enterprise under the "Zarya" agricultural firm in Rovno Oblast and the "Pioneer" firm. After drawing general conclusions from the positive experiences and identifying the bottlenecks, scientists and specialists from our agricultural sphere and from the Ministry of Grain Products, functionaries of agro-industrial committees in union and autonomous republics, in krays and oblasts drew up concrete measures to increase the output of corn grain in the immediate future and to significantly improve the quality of corn silage.

V.P. Nikonov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, participated in the seminar proceedings. [passage omitted]

Attention was paid to efforts to further expand cooperation of both production workers and scientific institutions with leading foreign firms in a wide spectrum of topical agricultural problems.

The seminar was attended by V.S. Murakhovskiy, USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman and chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; Yu.I. Mordvintsev, first deputy chief of the Agriculture and Food Industry Department in the CPSU Central Committee; Communist Party Central Committee secretaries in union republics; leaders of state agro-industrial committees in union republics; obkom first secretaries; and responsible economic functionaries.

While in Rovno Oblast, V.P. Nikonov inquired about the performance of the agro-industrial complex under the conditions of restructuring. In the "Zarya" agricultural firm, he inspected production fields under corn for grain, rape, sugar beets, and potatoes, visited the cannery, the glass containers plant, and the greenhouse combine, and familiarized himself with the work of the dairy complex and of social, cultural, and service facilities.

On the oblast tour, V.P. Nikonov was accompanied by I.A. Mozgovoy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; Yu.A. Kolomiyets, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member, Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, and chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Agro-Industrial Committee; T.I. Panasenko, Rovno Obkom first secretary; and P.K. Prishchepa, Rovno Oblispolkom chairman.

Ukraine Sugar Beet Harvest Under Way

AU2809123788 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Sep 88 p 1

[RATAU A. Yurkin report: "The Ukraine's Sugar Has Begun To Flow"]

[Text] Kiev, 23 September—The complications caused by the bad weather did not prevent the republic's sugar refiners from starting the refining season in a well organized manner. The sugar refining enterprises have delivered the first 250,000 tonnes of sugar from the newly harvested beets.

To a large extent, this was facilitated by technical measures taken before the 1988 refining season. As reported, for example, by the Kiev Oblast sugar industry association, continuous-operation centrifuges have been installed at the Luchanskiy refinery, a caldron for treatment of beet chips at the Gorodishche-Pustovarovskiy refinery, and the production shop at the Mironovskiy refinery has been rebuilt. These operations have enabled the association's enterprises to increase their processing capacity by 530 tonnes of sugar beets daily. Particular efforts were made to centralize control over beet digging and trucking. Trucking out operations have been centralized at all the 13 sugar refineries under the association.

The collectives of 193 refineries have joined in the campaign of processing the republic's beet crop.

Rostov-na-Donu, Voroshilovgrad Harvest Figures

PM2809114488 [Editorial Report] Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian on 28 September front-pages 150-word TASS reports on the harvest from Rostov-na-Donu and Voroshilovgrad, datelined 27 September. The Rostov-na-Donu report, headlined "The Third Million!", reads, in part:

"Gratifying news was 'flashed' across the Don grainfields today—3,011,000 tonnes of grain have reached the Motherland's storehouses. Some 2,036,000 tonnes of valuable and durum varieties of wheat have reached the elevators and grain reception centers."

The Voroshilovgrad report, headlined "Into the State's Stores," states:

"The farmers of Voroshilovgrad Oblast have delivered to the procurement centers the last, 660,000th tonne of grain required to meet this year's plan. Nearly 350,000 tonnes of wheat of durum and valuable varieties have been sold, which is three times last year's figure."

Statistics Committee Notes Harvest Progress

LD2809225488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] According to information issued by the USSR Gosagroprom for Monday, 26 September, cereals and pulses, not including corn, have been threshed from an area of 100.9 million hectares. This is 93 percent of the area sown. Potatoes have been lifted from 78 percent of the plantations, vegetables from 52 percent. The restocking of feed reserves is continuing. The cornfields, it may be said, have all been mown, a few more than 4 million hectares remain to be harvested. Soon we will find out whether the drought has seriously shaken our hopes of strengthening the stability of cereal cultivation.

According to uncertain, very preliminary, data, we lose somewhat so far as quantity is concerned, but gain with regard to quality. Many sovkhozes and kolkhozes farms are striving to raise their grain crops to the highest standards and then grinding their own flours, and only then sell it to the state. Speaking generally there is still a great deal to do in the fields. The harvesting of vegetables, potatoes, sunflower plants, and sugar beets is continuing. The laying-in of feed is being completed.

Agricultural Developments for 22-28 Sep Noted

LD2909013088 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 22-28 September. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

22 September

Kiev Oblast farmers have harvested 500,000 tonnes of grain so far, fulfilling the marketing plan. (1400)

23 September

Sugar beet has been harvested on one-half of the sown acreage in Bashkiria. Even though the severe drought has inflicted considerable damage on the sugar beet, a good harvest has been grown on individual fields. The ASSR's four sugar refineries have prepared well for the current refining season and have already sent over 1,000 tonnes of sugar to the trade network. (0400)

Tajikistan today will deliver its 300,000th tonne of cotton, which is one-third of the plan, to procurement points. (1100)

Kashkadarya oblast has begun sowing winter grains. Uzbekistan intends to sow over 630,000 hectares, 90 percent of which has been plowed. (1100)

The cotton harvest is underway in Uzbekistan, where 1 million tonnes of raw cotton have already come in. Good weather with plenty of water has ensured an early harvest on 2 million hectares. Specialists put the yield at more than 25 quintals per hectare everywhere. (1300)

The rice harvest has begun in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast, Kazakhstan. Lease contracting has enabled farmers to avoid using defoliants, even given the grain's late maturing. (1300)

Altay villages have so far brought in 3 million tonnes of feed units, thus overfulfilling the plan for making haylage. (1300)

24 September

No fielworthy items monitored.

25 September

Winter wheat and barley sowing has begun in Uzbekistan. (0900)

26 September

Kransodar Kray farmers have sold over 3 million tonnes of mainly corn and rice, which are being delivered now. (0304)

To date 1 million tonnes of sugar beets have been sent for processing in Lipetsk Oblast. It has been harvested from one-half of the area sown to the crop. (1600)

27 September

Mass sowing of winter crops is under way in Krasnoyarsk Kray. To date, one-third of a million hectares have been sown. (0000)

Farmers in Osh Oblast have begun mass sowing of winter cereals. New types of wheat developed by Kirghiz selectioners will account for a large proportion. (0000)

Cultivators of Tselinograd Oblast have fulfilled their task by threshing 4.2 million hectares of the total sown area. (Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 0100 GMT)

The grain harvest has been completed in Novosibirsk Oblast. Grain has been threshed on 2 million hectares. Two-thirds of the crop is made up of strong and valuable varieties. (0700)

Sunflower seed harvesting has started in Altay Kray. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT)

Don agricultural workers have fulfilled the plan of grain sales to the state, having poured 3.01 million tonnes of grain into the granaries. (1400)

28 September

In Uzbekistan, 150,000 tonnes of cotton has been delivered in the past day. This is the first time such a large quantity has been gathered. This was achieved largely due to the wide use of equipment. To date in the republic 1 million tons more cotton has been gathered than last year. (0304)

Sowing of winter crops has been completed on almost 7 million hectares in the Ukraine. (1400)

Kaluga Oblast farmers have fulfilled the annual grain supplies plan. Seeds have been procured in full. The last harvesters left the corn fields of Andizhan Oblast today. Sixty quintals of grain have been threshed from each hectare here. This is the highest yield in Uzbekistan. (1500)

Scientific

Soviet-French Space Flight Set for 21 Nov

LD2809133088 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 28 TASS—Two French candidates for a place on a joint mission with Soviet cosmonauts, which has been set for November 21, are in the final phase of intense preparations at a spacemen's training center outside Moscow.

The two, first French cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien and pilot Michel Tognini, are most busy now that less than two months are left before the 30-day mission which will be longer than the first Soviet-French orbital flight in 1982, which lasted eight days.

The upcoming mission will have also a more challenging program, including a space walk by the French research cosmonaut and his Soviet colleague.

They will go outside their orbital station Mir to unfold a complex-shape metal structure seen as a prototype building module for future space platforms.

It is also planned to leave a panel with a range of composite materials, which are planned for use by French scientists on their own future spacecraft, outside the station to try them out by exposure to raw space.

On top of this, a number of technological experiments, nature studies, astrophysics observations and medico-biological experiments are to be performed during the flight.

One of the Frenchmen, Tognini, has married a Russian girl, Yelena, while preparing for the mission at the star city near Moscow. She works as a P.E. instructor there.

'Mir' Crew Continues Remote Sensing Project

LD2809104788 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] The crew of the Soviet orbiting space station "Mir" has continued remote sensing of the earth in order to perfect methods of natural resources prospecting from space. Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, and Valeriy Polyakov took pictures of the territory of the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan in the Caucasus, the Black and Caspian Seas, and the world ocean.

Newsman Reports From Shuttle Simulator

PM2809155388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by special correspondent A. Tarasov under the rubric "The Route to Space": "Three Attempts at Landing: Preparation of the Soviet Reusable Space System Is Nearing Completion. Our Correspondent Reports From One Section of That Complex Program"]

[Text] "Take the commander's seat," my namesake Andrey Byushgens said, as he closed the cabin door. I was timidly hoping to be given the copilot's seat on the right and was confused when confronted with the seat on the left, the commander's seat. But the chief of the TsAGI [Central Aerohydrodynamics Institute] was resolved to be the last word in hospitality. If you're going to fly, do it seriously. The seatbelt lock snapped shut, the seat moved toward the control panel, and the green indicator digits flashed.

This was the first time I had been at the controls of an aircraft. I had driven a tank, but the last time was about 20 years ago. And now, straight to the controls of a space plane. I looked around, some things I could work out myself, and others were explained to me. The artificial horizon with the black "sphere" in the lens shows the angle of roll.... There are indicators of speed, altitude, G-force, angles of incidence showing prohibited angles shaded in red, and other displays.... I would not say I was dazzled by the instruments—they were all concise and kept to the minimum. Only the vital information was displayed. But there was an "exotic" feature in the new program. A small television screen mounted in the control panel: a pilot-command display with an indicator by which the crew controls the space plane's route after entering the atmosphere... A special dial to monitor the status of the control functions during the rapid launch...

The words of the pilots on the first stages of the program, the steepest and fastest "slaloms" on the TU-154, came to mind: The whole contraption plummeted like a stone... Fortunately that is not in store for me, the task facing Andrey and me is part of the more modest horizontal flight testing.

It is true that the training program is an accelerated one. Even before I had learned how to operate the control handle sticking out in front of me, I was already using the pedals to taxi along the center of the runway. The beautiful bluish stripe against the background of emerald green grass moved faster and faster; somehow I kept on it and at last was relieved to hear that we had lifted off and could afford not to bother with the control pedals. From then on my task was simpler—to use that handle to straighten out any tilting to right or left and to ensure an uncomplicated, straight flight. Andrey controlled the engines from his seat on the right. We dove into the clouds, and the blindness was somewhat alarming because, although there are enough instruments for regular fliers, I didn't even notice them—I was looking out for the horizon. Then it reappeared—now I could calmly consider what they told me about this gigantic problem oriented toward the future in space. Or rather about the many problems, each of which required tremendous efforts and unique solutions.

The scientists of the TsAGI, the aviation industry's main institute which has taken part in all our space programs beginning with Vostok, is increasingly "in its element" now. A plane is just a plane; it is more familiar to them. But this aircraft raised problems which have still not been resolved either by aviation or cosmonautics. The main task now, in the scientists' opinion, is automatic landing. It isn't fully automatic even in all-weather flying.

"Even on the shuttle?" I couldn't help asking.

"Even on the shuttle," they said, confirming that I hadn't misheard. "All its landings were fully pilot-controlled."

"Why is this necessary at all?"

They explained to me something both simple and complex. In clouds and thick fog a pilot is helpless—as is demonstrated by the airports packed with passengers in weather unfit for flying. Even for an aircraft with its engines, its smooth flight path, its controllable speed, and so forth, automatic landing still presents problems. But ultimately the pilot can choose to circle again and direct the plane to a reserve airfield somewhere nearby or even return to his place of departure. Compared with conventional aircraft the potential of the space plane—the VKK—is extremely limited. Without the thrust of the engines but by means of aerodynamics, that is by gliding but at tremendous speed and steepness of descent, it uses its awesome power of acceleration as it hurtles toward the only landing place. There is nowhere else to go, even in 1,000 km. Nor can you circle a second time, swing around, or try to land again. Suppose, then, that during the space flight the runway is shrouded in thick fog? It snows? Or a dust storm blows up? Suppose the pilot has been affected by weightlessness or G-force? Or, God forbid, depressurization or injury? However you look at it, automatic landing is still the ideal measure of safety. And the scientists set to work with the designers to make this ideal attainable.

This is convincing and impressive. But it does not rule out the manual control system. There are three in all—there is also the directional system, the combined one in which the pilot "duplicates" the work of the automatic equipment in order to be able to intervene quickly and without delay if anything goes wrong.

We do not have problems of that kind. For the horizontal flight tests, a model has been created that uses conventional aircraft. Andrey suggests that we try to land but it is too difficult to turn back to the landing strip so we come down right on the grass, which was such a beautiful shade of green below the clumps of clouds. Disregarding several of his increasingly insistent warnings, such as "Maintain Y at 10!" I apparently made an unintentional but fatal miscalculation because the last thing I heard was "That did it! We've crashed...."

It seems funny to explain that we survived and that the flight was not real but simulated. And that this cockpit is an experimental flight simulator. A great big "spider" (see H.G. Wells' illustrations) on long hydraulic legs connected via an electronic system to a control lever, which enables you to experience the delights of abrupt turns, steep climbs, air pockets, and turbulence. That is why you have to be strapped into your seat in the cockpit. The green grass behind the glass screen, the airstrip, the fog, and the clouds of every type are the creation of a computer using an optical collimator in which a television set is cunningly fitted with mirrors.

The simulator was created especially for the new program. It is a unique manned training base, I was told. It was "flown" first by the engineers, who were then accompanied by the pilots, a great many testers, and all the crews of the reusable craft. They do not hide the fact here that they flew it critically; they checked the "flying test bed" against an aircraft, and gave their comments and suggested improvements. The remarkable test pilot Aleksandr Fedotov was involved in this work from its beginning. Before taking a real machine into the air, the pilots practiced takeoffs and landings for dozens of hours on the simulator. They recall one man who even did a "roll" on just his third time out and honestly admitted that he was "afraid he would fall out." They cite the pilots' opinions after a real flight: It's just like the simulator, they say.

The simulator enables you to rehearse variations on a whole host of situations. But our present needs are not great: just a modest takeoff and a landing, albeit on grass, not the landing strip. It is embarrassing to crash. Another take off run, lift off, first the grass horizon, then the cloud horizon, a few turns somewhat more or less abrupt so as to flex the hydraulic linkages...

There is another difficult problem—aerodynamics. Space apparatuses, "conceived" by Korolev, began, as we all know, in the form of a sphere and later became a "lampshade" shape. This helped to more easily circumvent many aerodynamic problems. But an aircraft cannot fly around them! Especially not such an "awkward," highly streamlined, and extremely fast one. Cutting into the atmosphere at speeds used in space, slowing down to the prescribed speed by means of maneuvering, and accurately reaching the landing site means resolving a great many interconnected problems. And you have to find your own solutions because no one shares their answers even if any exist.

With friction at such speeds, even the characteristics of air in the atmosphere change: It is no longer a question of the mechanics of a continuum but is all about molecular interaction, chemical and physical reactions with the surface of the apparatus. The modeling of them began in the wind tunnels, where the tiny VKK's experienced every stage of an atmospheric hell. The purpose-built tunnel with a specially designed nozzle drives a stream of hot air at speeds of up to Mach 20—Mach numbers denote the ratio between the speed of flight and the speed of sound. If you consider that one of the units is the speed of sound, you can imagine how far things have developed and how the tunnel roars as the model is tested to breaking point and transmits signals from its sensors to the computer where a mathematical model of flight is being produced. As the thermodynamic paint melts, it shows where the air streams are hottest and consequently how to build the craft's protective screen.

Then full-size sections of the aircraft undergo heat and durability tests in huge chambers. Like a scaly brontosaurus, a single-winged fuselage enters the acoustic chamber. I managed to touch the ceramic tiles with which the craft is covered, like the walls of a bath house. To my surprise the tiles were soft—you can scratch pieces off with your fingernail. Such lightness and durability are among the secrets of the chemistry of composite materials. Then someone told me not to touch the tiles and I took my hand away.

Doctor of Technical Sciences V. Yaroshevskiy, one of my interlocutors, explained a great many problems to me. Introducing him, they told me about the "Yaroshevskiy method," which is also acknowledged in the U.S. scientific press as being on a par with the "Chapman method." This is a method for calculating analytically the trajectory of a spacecraft as it enters the atmosphere. It is impossible to imagine the number of different ways in which various forces act on the craft. Density, speed, altitude, temperature, gusts of wind, gravitation—several hundred parameters changing every instant to which the automatic machinery has to react as it controls the movement of the aircraft en route to its chosen airfield. Millions of combinations using the aircraft's controls have been tried out on the computer. To incorporate all that in a real craft weighing many tons and in real flight seems a fantastic task, but nevertheless the scientists, designers, and testers are resolving it.

"Help, we're going down!"

It seems that in thinking about hyperspeeds we did not pay attention to the more modest landing speed and lost speed, falling to below 400 km. Under such conditions the machine would crash. It is difficult without a single pilot in the crew. Simulator chief Sergey Kaygorodov lets us start over because he understands our desire to survive intact.

We have still not used the air brake lever—the main landing instrument. I tried to imagine, albeit in a remote way, the sitution of the pilot who has entrusted his life and machine to the electronic autopilot. After all, no matter what emergencies and failsafe devices been built into it, hardly any airman sits calmly through even the best landing. They tell stories and legends about the sharp psychological adjustment that occurred when aircraft switched to power-assisted control, that is, hydraulically-assisted controls. Many pilots had little faith in this design innovation and put their trust in the simple and proven wire cable. But the problems will be greater here—so you can understand the disputes among the professionals and the intense debates on the topical problem of the 20th and 21st centuries: the interaction between "man and machine"....

On a real runway somewhere this vehicle is now starting another takeoff run. Later, riding on "Energiya's" "back," it will finally enter space. I am not qualified to lavish praise on the machine or to criticize it: That is not my field. I am qualified merely to note the vast complexity of the problems which its creators have tackled. As though reading my mind, Vasiliy Aleksandrovich Yaroshevskiy said:

"This excessive enthusiasm is simply not necessary.... First, the machine still has to fly there and back, and second, even when we were first with our Sputnik it was embarrassing to hear the flood of self-praise... That only we could have done it, that it was only possible under conditions of socialism... It is all much more serious than that...."

At last we got everything in order. "Y" had been maintained "at 10," we hadn't overturned and, at the right speed and so forth we touched down on the grass with just a gentle bump. I was ordered to put both feet down on the brakes, which I did gladly and dispensing with the roll and pitch handle.... Back on the "ground," people asked whether we liked the simulator. And how! I wouldn't have left it for ages, I'd have carried on flying. The only thing that begins to upset you is its uniqueness, which people mention so persistently. Its uniqueness not in the world, unfortunately, but in our country. It is a shame that this machine, which is available in principle, is not to be found wherever pilots are being trained, but instead groups of pilots have to be sent here. The final shame is that they are not used for practice by our youngsters at young cosmonauts clubs and at exhibitions of space hardware. That should have happened long ago. After all, that is the starting point for all launches. Not just for us, but for the next century.

Military

Yazov Issues Order on Routine Draft

PM2809143388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Sep 88 First Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister's Order of the Day No 311, dated Moscow, 28 September 1988]

[Text] **On the discharge from the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces to the reserve of servicemen who have completed their established period of active military service, and on the next draft of citizens for active military service in October-December 1988.**

In accordance with the USSR law "On Compulsory Military Service" I order:

1. That draftees who have completed their established period of active military service be discharged from the ranks of the Soviet Army, Navy, Border Guards, and Internal Troops to the reserve in October-December 1988.

2. That, in connection with the discharge to the reserve of the servicemen referred to in paragraph 1 of this order, male citizens aged 18 by the draft date and without the right to draft deferment, and citizens above draft age whose draft deferment has expired, be drafted to active military service in the Soviet Army, Navy, Border Guards, and Internal Troops in October-December 1988.

3. That this order be read out in all companies, batteries, squadrons, and aboard ships.

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

Commemoration Planned for Battleship Crew

PM2809144188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 88 First Edition p 2

[Article by V. Losikov, deputy chief of the USSR Navy Political Directorate, under the rubric "Following Criticism": "Their Memory Will Be Perpetuated"]

[Text] Following the publication of the pieces "The Explosion" and "The Explosion and Its Echo," the question of perpetuating the memory of the servicemen who died aboard the battleship "Novorossiysk" in October 1955 was examined at the Black Sea Fleet Military Council, which deemed it expedient to meet the request that was made. The Black Sea Fleet command supports the Black Sea Fleet Military Council's decision.

The Black Sea Fleet and Sevastopol city leaders have set up a feasibility study group comprising representatives of the Political Directorate, the Ukraine gorkom and gorispolkom, staffers at the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet Museum, journalists, members of a military science society, and the ship's veterans council. The Sevastopol gorispolkom has pledged to set up marble slabs at the memorial bearing the names of the seamen who died aboard the battleship "Novorossiysk" once they have been documented and checked against the archives.